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ABSTRACT

This booklet reports six of the major presentations about the social forces that are molding or blasting the schools. Muriel Crosby discusses the developing problems of the city, its people, and its schools along with some community and educational solutions to these problems: redistricting, emphasis on quality education, inner city teacher education programs, new strategies in teaching, curriculum building, and supervision. William H. Schuman describes the unique place of the humanities and the performing arts in public education, the role of a performing arts center like the Lincoln Center, and the integration of the arts into the curriculum. A. Donald Bourgeois talks about the impact of mass or urban living on man and his environment, culture, self concept, and education. Nicholas A. Masters covers briefly the impact of political power on education including: teacher unions, and federal aid to education. He reviews a survey of the interrelationships of Community Action Agencies with public school systems in urban areas. Jack Frymier develops a conceptual scheme for understanding rebellion and authoritarianism as manifestations of behavior within social systems with implications for education and educational change. Gerald Weinstein describes the social characteristics of urban schools, and his model of educational objectives, methods, staff utilization, and school community relations. (SBE)

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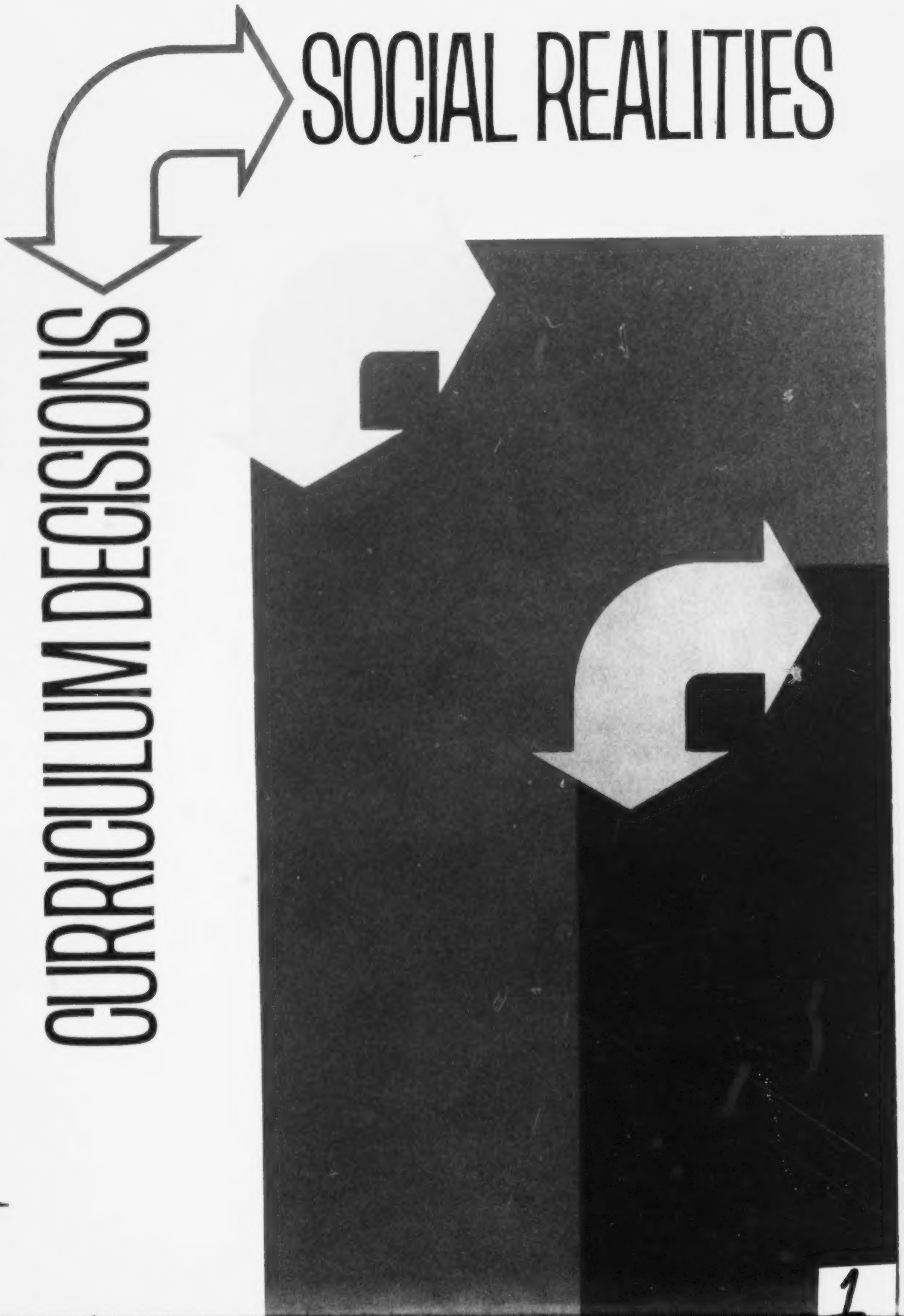

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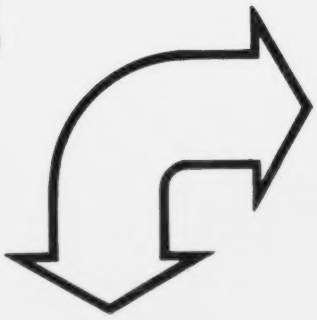

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Addresses at the 23rd Annual Conference
Atlantic City, New Jersey
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Editor, ASCD Publications

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Preface

"CURRICULUM Decisions⟷Social Realities." This was the theme of the 1968 Annual Conference of ASCD and is the title of this booklet that reports six of the major presentations at that Conference. Each pair of words in this title is overburdened with implications for schools and schooling, but do not neglect the double-headed arrow. The title might as well have been "Social Realities⟷Curriculum Decisions." We are truly the products of our times, but our times are also the product of our actions. This two-edged sword is so sharp that it frightens the bravest social analyst and educator.

These times cut traditional programs to shreds and tear at complacent people and institutions. Teachers cannot teach in the way in which they were taught. Supervisors and curriculum directors find well-worn routes blocked with new obstacles, and administrators find that yesterday's catastrophies were only mild irritants compared with the problems they and their schools face today. When social change is slow and gradual, schools can afford to be traditional. Old ways and old answers learned through years of experience are good enough. But when explosive change shakes our major cities to the roots, uncovers weaknesses of long standing, and threatens even small towns with similar consequences, traditionalism has no place. Everyone's job changes to adjust to and to help shape the new education—the double-headed arrow again.

This booklet is in answer to the hundreds of requests for reproduction of these major addresses. Unfortunately, it cannot completely satisfy those who saw the multi-media presentation of "Our School" as presented by American Telephone and Telegraph, Eastman Kodak Company, and Radio Corporation of America, with the advice and cooperation of ASCD, as a highlight of the 1968 Annual Conference. It is just as regrettable that we can share with you only William Schuman's major address from the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. The beautifully inspiring examples of the performing arts presented at the Conference must live only in the memories of those fortunate enough to have seen and heard them. Hence, there is reproduced here only some of the very best of the 1968 ASCD Annual Conference.

Each of the articles in this booklet says something about the social forces that are molding or blasting the schools. Each also suggests what we can or must do to meet and to help direct these forces. They were powerful papers when delivered orally, but in some respects, they are even more powerful when we can pause and reflect on their message.

August 1968

J. HARLAN SHORES
President 1967-68
Association for Supervision and
Curriculum Development, NEA

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New Demands for New Leadership

Muriel Crosby

THE CRITICAL nature of our times, brought into focus by the nationwide violence of the summer of 1967, the rise of militancy of the minority groups, and the divisive threat of "Black Nationalism," constitutes a challenge to public education in the United States by which, in comparison, Sputnik can now be seen as a small "miniature" sitting beside a "magnum" in the window of a liquor store.

The present threat lies in the increasing pressures to make a scapegoat of the public schools in urban centers. In these settings, sometimes unknowledgeable, self-designated leaders of the minority groups, often at war with one another, make demands which frequently have little basis in fact. Public denunciation of schools, of teachers, and curriculum is common, and is often made by new staff members in other public agencies, who make no attempt to determine the actual status of schools, teachers, and curriculum in the inner cities.

These self-designated leaders contend that no one knows less than the professional educator about the needs and abilities of disadvantaged children or about the content and process of the curriculum appropriate for such youngsters. That many professional educators have found the job they are called upon to do alone, an overwhelming burden, is a fact. Many professional educators have also found that the demand to eliminate, in one generation, the educational retardation of minority groups produced by 300 years of man's inhumanity to man, is a demand to perform miracles. Unjustifiable charges are a morale breaker and seriously affect the educators' recruitment power in inner cities. Thus staffs are left vulnerable to thoughtless and inconsiderate charges.

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The challenge in the current national crisis lies in the fact that, in spite of needed progress in such social and economic realms as open housing, open employment, and the attainment of a vast range of civil rights, the bedrock of social and economic equality for all of America's people is deeply rooted in education.

During the foreseeable future, I believe that the responsibility for leadership of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development lies in two major, parallel efforts:

1. To lead the ASCD membership in developing new strategies in curriculum development, in educational programs, and in supervision which will lead toward more effective education for a people generally disenchanted with current offerings in the public schools of the nation.

2. To develop new strategies by which educators may "sell" public school education and its critical role to the American people, for education is truly "The Tiger in the Tank" of national survival.

Stereotypes and Reality

To get at the problems we face, I first want to sketch a picture of the developing problems of the city, its people, and its schools.[1]

The terms "urbanization," "urban schools," "the changing city," "inner-city teachers," and "slum children" conjure up in the minds of many citizens and quite a few educators, pictures of utter despair, substandard living, deprivation, and neglect. In short, stereotypes have developed in relation to living, working, and teaching in the city which are loaded on the side of negativism, harming the cities and all who live and work therein. Stereotyping has harmed the children of the inner city more seriously than other experiences.

As one who has lived through the great social revolution of the twentieth century which received its renewed impetus as a result of the Supreme Court Decision on the Desegregation of Public Schools in May 1954, as one responsible in large measure for effecting integration in a formerly racially segregated school system in a medium-sized city in a border state, and as one who repudiates every form of human segregation based on race, nationality, religion, politics, or intelligence, I am fully aware of the negative aspects genuinely identified with the terms quoted; but I have learned not to categorize cities, populations, schools, teachers, or children.

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[1] Quoted from an editorial in *Educational Leadership* 25(1): 7-9; October 1967, under the title, "Cities, People—and Schools," by Muriel Crosby.

Most cities of the nation have experienced upheaval, demolition, shifts in populations and in racial or minority ratios. Most have experienced the flight from the inner city of middle-income families whose places have been taken by larger families of deprivation. Most cities have become battlegrounds for the fight for justice or the venting of hatred and prejudice by militant civil rights groups and those who would maintain the supremacy of the "whites." Just as with Sputnik, the public schools of the cities have become the scapegoat, sometimes justifying the criticism rained upon them; more often, rallying to meet the demands of traumatic change under pressures few public institutions could stand and survive.

It is true that many cities fit the stereotypes coined by the militant groups, maintaining outmoded plants and facilities, unfair and derogatory practices in the employment and placement of teachers, unjust staff promotion policies for teachers of minority groups, and patterns of school organization which perpetuate segregation through the tracking of students. Nevertheless their blanket indictment of schools and communities is dangerous business.

We hear much of the total despair of the Watts area of Los Angeles, yet a valued colleague of mine reported that he saw some of the finest teaching in a Watts school that he had ever observed and some of the most dismal teaching in a neighboring university laboratory school.

In my own city, I know hundreds of families living in poverty or near poverty who maintain decent homes in the midst of the ghetto. Children from substandard neighborhoods, whose parents often receive welfare aid, appear in our schools clean, neat, and attractive, sent to school by mothers who care enough to instill standards in spite of terrific odds. People who visit our schools in poverty areas ask, "Where are the slum children?" And one visitor, returning to her native land after years of living abroad, exclaimed, "You have high-class slums!" There is little turnover of staff in inner-city schools and few non-certificated teachers. The teachers of these schools take pride in their accomplishments, and some of the most ingenious teaching and creative efforts are found in schools which many middle-income parents, in their ignorance, look down upon. The schools and other agencies of the community are recognized for the quality of their cooperative efforts in the service of children and their families.

The problems of the inner cities, their people, and their schools, are many, however, even when standards of quality prevail. Several, only, are identified:

—At a time when the inner-city population requires greater school services, smaller class size for effective learning, greater varieties of educational programs to meet the needs of a vast range of human intelligence found in every school, the tax base for support of public education is being whittled away by increasing numbers of residents unable to pay taxes, and by the removal of property from the tax list for housing, thruways, and other needed developments demanded for the survival of the cities.

—The flight to the suburbs of middle-income families, the breakthrough from ghetto living by those financially able to move to better neighborhoods now open to them, and the concentration of publicly subsidized housing in the city, are factors contributing to some of the greatest social problems facing our nation: the segregation of peoples by economic status and the racial segregation of total cities surrounded by white suburbia.

—The demand by uninformed citizens for racial integration of public schools occurs at a time of declining white enrollments. Washington, D.C., is the true example of the impossibility of racial integration, with a ratio of 95 percent Negroes and 5 percent whites. Many cities across the country are approaching this ratio.

Seeking Solutions to the Problems of Urban Education

The solutions to the problems of cities, the people, and their schools have not been found although the search is on. I suggest that some of the elements of successful solutions to these problems which each community must resolve include:

1. The creation of new geographic, political, and educational districts which will incorporate cities and their suburbs. A pie-shaped plan is called for, with each new district a wedge of the pie, starting at center-city and extending to the perimeter of the suburbs. In this plan it is almost inevitable that racial balance in school enrollments, distribution of economic levels, and an adequate tax base for the support of public education will be assured.

2. A renewed emphasis on quality education for *all* children and youth. While racial integration is a factor in quality education, until redistricting occurs, it is a fact of life that the schools are, in some cases, powerless to effect integration for all children.

Preparing all children through quality education is the chief solution at the present time. Quality does not refer alone to the college-bound. It refers to all programs any good school provides to meet various needs, abilities, and aspirations of its youth.

3. The responsibility of faculties of teacher preparation institutions to climb down from their ivory towers, learn what is going on in the world, and provide teacher education programs designed to inspire young people to become equipped to serve successfully and with personal satisfaction in the schools of the inner city.

4. The acceptance by the total community of its responsibility to share in the solution to problems faced by its schools, and the willingness of the schools to open their doors to the community. No school that attempts to hide its problems or to bluff its way out of an attack, legitimate or not, can survive.

Each day, every child looks out of his own private window on the world. What he sees depends in large measure on his city, its people, and its schools. What he sees and feels and comprehends determines what he will become. And what he becomes will determine what our nation will become in the years ahead. "Past is prologue." Today's children are creating their past for the adults they will become. The people of the city, thus, are creating the future for generations to come.

Resistance to Change—A Professional Disease

Those of us who travel a great deal may have had the experience of receiving the container of macadamia nuts served by one airline regularly at the cocktail hour, only to find that instead of macadamia nuts there was the more common assortment of salted nuts, with a note which said: "Who ate your macadamia nuts? *You* did!" There is a further explanation of the increased demand and the shortage of supply.

We teachers may well paraphrase this question as we look with dismay on the schools and their vulnerability at this stage of the revolution. We know the forces at work, just and unjust, which have resulted in a rain of criticism on American public education. As professionals, however, we know that we have not been blameless. When the question is raised, "Who is responsible for the desperate plight of many schools alienated from their communities?" we must, in all honesty, admit, "*We* are!" for we carry a large measure of the responsibility for our dilemma.

Frequently, we brag about our "innovations," "reorganizations," "model school structures," and other icing on the cake, when underneath we know that:

1. The theory of individual differences is largely ignored in most schools.
2. The quiet children are the ignored children.
3. The conformist is valued as the fine student.
4. Parents have no genuine role in the education of their children.
5. Stereotyping youngsters of minority groups is rife.
6. Paternalism is the dominant factor in administrator-teacher relationships.
7. Maternalism is the dominant factor in supervisor-teacher relationships.
8. Curriculum development is frequently a paper job, a potpourri of bits and pieces lifted and assembled from countless other curriculum guides, which themselves were the result of lifting and assembling by curriculum guide committees in the past.
9. Inordinate amounts of time and energy of children and teachers are spent on standardized testing of predigested facts which do little but supply false labels for children and affect positive learning not a whit.

While individual teachers, schools, supervisors, and school principals have made notable changes, the practices cited are fairly common. Numerous studies of NDEA projects, Head Start, and others are claiming little differences in the effectiveness of learning in spite of millions of dollars of federal and foundation funds poured into special projects. Entrenchment in tradition is not the answer to the demands of vast social and economic change outside the schools. *A new world demands new strategies in teaching, in curriculum building, and in supervision.*

As we study this new world and its demands on urban education, we in the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development must be guided by two significant questions which must be answered in the immediate future:

Who Will Teach the Children?
What Will They Learn?

When I was anticipating my first teaching appointment in 1928, the stock-market crash and the beginning of the Great Depression of the 1930's had made teaching positions, along with most positions in other fields, extremely scarce. Only five elementary positions were open in a large city school system and they were filled in the order of class rank from the graduating class of the public normal school. On the first of September, the local paper published appointments in the schools and I learned of my good fortune in receiving one of the appointments.

Through reading the paper I also learned of the school and grade to which I would be assigned. There were no interviews, no counseling sessions for a beginner, no orientation to the philosophy or expectations of the school system for its children and its staff. I had a job; it paid $1400 per year, and I had achieved the one great aspiration of my life, born on the day I entered school as a five-year-old kindergartner. I was a teacher, at last.

Some forty years later, I check off the vast changes that have come about in the long process of professionalizing teaching. The old normal school served its purpose and has disappeared. Personnel departments of public school systems compete vigorously for teachers in a far too tight market. National and state financial aid is available for youngsters working to prepare for teaching and the lush resources of graduate aid allow teachers to pick and choose among the great range of academic programs open to them, almost for the asking.

The gains for children and teachers through the professionalization process have been tremendous. Teaching has almost achieved its rightful place among other professions. Certainly, the goal is in sight.

Yet, there are some hazards involved which career-minded professional educators should study and ponder. I have run into them across the country enough times to feel that a pattern may be emerging.

1. Teacher welfare campaigns in many cities are often disregarding the educational interests of children.

2. There is a definite movement, divisive in nature, which sets categories of educators (i.e., administrators, supervisors, specialists, and teachers) apart from one another, each fighting for its own exclusive rights and interests, with no regard for the rights and interests of other colleagues.

3. Negotiation of curriculum is a major thrust of some teacher

organizations in the large cities. The very nature of curriculum development precludes negotiation.

Teaching is a service profession as fully as the ministry and medicine. The hazards I have described, if fully developed, will bring about an internal breakdown in the profession which will be seized upon by those external forces at work which are committed to divisiveness within and among all established agencies in a community. When this occurs, again I ask:

Who Will Teach the Children?
What Will They Learn?

Focus on Leadership

Creating a new respect for public education in this country will never be achieved if educators take refuge in the past. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development has the experience, the know-how, and the skills to bring about the kind of change necessary for the creation of a new respect for education. It cannot do the job alone, but it can exercise the leadership, which, in cooperation with other professional organizations, will serve to unify and coordinate a massive movement within our profession which will assure the American people of the fact that the education of its children and youth is in capable hands.

I am convinced that the tasks ahead, to which ASCD and all of its affiliates must be committed, include the following:

1. *Identifying the hallmarks of quality in education.* This term is being loosely batted about by educators, civil rights groups, and others frequently with little understanding of what it means.

2. *Learning to use evaluative processes which will reveal strengths and needs in the areas of supervision and curriculum development in order to foster the development of quality education.*

3. *Understanding and developing effective processes in helping youngsters build command of the English language.* Every major project on the disadvantaged has a common finding, namely, that the child who fails to grow in command of his native English language, including speech and oral language, as well as reading and writing, is handicapped as a person, is handicapped academically and economically. This means that every teacher, regardless of subject, must feel responsible for assuring every child increasing

power in language. This is not a happy thought, but a life and death matter, socially and economically speaking.

4. *Understanding the significance of the need for children and youth to identify with the school and the critical role of the teacher in building this identification.* Every child has a right to his place in the public schools. Genuine acceptance of each youngster by the school staff is an obligation we accept when we assume the role of teacher. If we cannot accept our children and youth, we should act on the advice of the Lebanese poet, Kahlil Gibran:

> Work is love made visible. And if you cannot work with love but only with distaste it is better that you should leave your work and sit at the gate of the temple and take alms of those who work with joy. For if you bake bread with indifference you bake a bitter bread that feeds but half of man's hunger.[2]

Rejection, however subtle, is detected by the youngest child. And he becomes a little less sure of himself, a little less worthy in his own eyes. A child who experiences nothing but failure year in and year out is learning that he comes to school to learn to fail. Education is not provided to teach a child to fail, it is designed to teach him to succeed. Every teacher should plan deliberately to help each youngster experience success and be recognized for it. A child who knows his teacher cares stands taller than he thought he could.

5. *Appreciating the need for and making certain that children and youth develop a deep respect for law and order.* Our republic has a built-in, time-proven instrument for effecting orderly changes. Our forefathers had the wisdom to provide an instrument inherently flexible in process, but constant in purpose. This is a heritage that few peoples have. The fact that we have not attained genuine democracy does not weaken in value what has been accomplished. Our critical need to establish justice, freedom, and equality of opportunity for all of our almost 200,000,000 people has accelerated so fast during the last fourteen years that it puts to shame the accomplishments of the last 300 years.

Our youth are particularly vulnerable to exploitation by extremists of both major races. Those who preach violence and use adolescents to achieve their purposes of destruction are crippling a whole generation of citizens. It is this generation of young people whose lives are being violently snuffed out or, if they survive, who must carry police records for the rest of their lives.

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[2] Kahlil Gibran. *The Prophet.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1923. Reprinted with permission of the publisher Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Copyright © 1923 by Kahlil Gibran; revised copyright © 1951 by Administrators C.T.A. of Kahlil Gibran Estate, and Mary G. Gibran.

6. *Analyzing current school reorganizational designs and their implications for curriculum development and supervision.* One of the most critical needs for action by ASCD is a full-blown involvement in the problems of school reorganization and what it means for supervision and curriculum development. A vast number of efforts are based on expediency, that is, lack of space and shortage of teachers, rather than upon what is best, educationally, for children and youth.

7. *Developing strategies for putting research to work in applying theory to the practical problems of learning.* One of the great strengths of ASCD has been its promotion of educational research to foster effective learning. As important as this is to the rank and file supervisor sweating it out in the field of reality, this aspect of ASCD's work remains in a world apart. I recommend that ASCD's research effort be geared to assisting supervisors to help teachers interpret and use research findings. I believe this is one of the most significant measures which can be taken to help supervisors feel at home in their own organization.

From the moment of birth to the moment of death, each child looks upon the world through his own unique window. What he sees is determined by many intermeshing forces at work: his own inner resources of mind, spirit, and emotions; the family customs and mores; its language and values; the physical world of silence and sound, beauty and ugliness, shapes and patterns, heat and cold; and the people who impinge upon his daily life. All of these forces make the child what he will become.

For one child, the view from the window may become distorted early in life. What he sees is unbearable, and the window becomes opaque, blocking out a world from which the child, in his vulnerability, must withdraw. For another child, the view from the window presents delightful vistas of discovery ahead. This is the child who becomes a part of his world. In growing toward maturity, he has incorporated the world within himself. The complete fruition of this process has been described by Rilke, who wrote of a friend, "His face is a love letter to all mankind." Only this kind of love letter will overcome today's forces of hate. Only the school which helps its children learn to write this kind of letter will be able to shape a world in which all men find themselves at home.

The Performing Arts and the Curriculum

William H. Schuman

SOME MONTHS ago, when I discussed with the professional leadership of this distinguished organization what my topic might be, I was given the title "The Humanities and the Performing Arts." This seemed too broad to me, and so I suggested, "The Performing Arts and the Curriculum: Frill or Fundamental?" In reply I received a most encouraging answer from your executive secretary, who said with some asperity:

> Dear Mr. Schuman: It is our feeling that with the group attending this session the question, frill or fundamental, is passé. Please proceed boldly on the assumption that the arts are considered a fundamental, but that educators need to know how better to implement that belief.

Despite the fact that I believe wholeheartedly in the sincerity of your executive secretary, my experience tells me that in the world of public education the arts are secondary. The arts are not a basic element. Yet if your executive secretary's assessment is really correct and the question of the arts' being frill or fundamental is *really* passé, I can only add that as I view it—if, indeed, the frill is ended, the malady lingers on.

From the wealth of illustration that I could cite to throw doubt on any comfortable reassurance that the arts are widely accepted as a basic ingredient of education, I quote from a letter that I received during the same week I got your director's note.

The letter came from the education division of a large corporation. It informed me that a joint study leading to possible collaboration between the education division of the corporation and Lincoln Center was being discontinued. Permit me to read you the reason.

> The results of the research study, which was conducted by our

company concerning the acceptability of a curriculum based on the performing arts, indicate widespread general interest in such a program. However, serious questions were raised regarding the ability of the school system to fit such a program into their present curriculum, due to time scheduling problems and also their ability to pay for such a program. Most teachers and curriculum advisors we contacted felt such a program might be highly desirable, but not *critical* to the development of the learner, and were most concerned lest time be subtracted from the *basic* education courses to accommodate such a new program.

Here we have a hard-headed business decision based on a most thorough research into the attitudes of school people. This research flatly contradicts any assumption that the arts are commonly held to be a fundamental part of American public education. The truth is they are not. Not yet, that is. The truth is that the field is one for pioneers, that we are working at the frontiers of education. And the truth is that the task is tough.

Unique Place of the Arts

The reason why the arts have rarely held a significant place in American public education is not difficult to find. Public education in this country, as it has developed historically, has, of course, been designed to prepare the young for the future. And that future has consistently been given a vocational or practical emphasis. In other words, the primary aim of education has been to enable the young to develop skills necessary for economic security. The value of the arts with respect to this end, if considered at all, has always been thought to be tenuous and, consequently, the arts have never had a high priority among subject matters competing for educational attention.

I state this unequivocally despite all the courses and activity that educators would point to in rebuttal. I believe such neglect has shortchanged our young and weakened their education. For I hold that meaningful experience with the arts does help to equip a young person to deal with the problems of life, whether they be practical, moral, psychological, or spiritual.

Can anyone reasonably argue that the arts hold second place to any other discipline of learning in heightening perception, sharpening the intellect, and in strengthening conviction? The answer is they cannot because the qualities which the arts offer to educators are unique, they exist in no other discipline.

The arts have suffered in the educational competition for the hour and the dollar because of the overriding reason that their nature has been misunderstood. More often than not, the arts are generally considered as avenues for emotional expression and the artist as a person who is able to express himself only in emotional terms. In consequence, educators have assigned artists the emotional provinces of man—strictly extracurricular—while the schools have been given the intellectual territory, thus creating an illogical dichotomy in which training and perception in the arts are minimized and left largely to chance while practical instruction in the intellectual disciplines is a recognized responsibility. Our blindness to the importance of the arts means that half of man's potentiality is consigned to an educational vacuum.

Here I will restrict myself to the performing arts for the simple reason that they constitute the field of my professional activity. Let me mention, however, that my colleagues in the visual arts tell me that to a greater or lesser degree my convictions apply to their field as well. The first question is, then, what is the nation now doing in the performing arts to advance the place of these arts through education for the enrichment of its citizenry? What are we doing in the performing arts in our schools and to what degree is it effective?

I do not need to tell readers of this paper what is being done because you are well aware that, in general terms, we concentrate on performances by students. The overwhelming activity in this area takes place in the field of music—although theatrical productions do occur, usually as an offshoot of English or speech classes, and there is a certain amount of activity in the field of dance, usually as incidental to physical education and having more to do with calisthenics than aesthetics.

What do students themselves get out of performing? Obviously a great deal. They have the physical and emotional experience of live performance, of do-it-yourself psychology. I would be the last to question the beneficial results in general developmental terms of participating in the arts of dance, theater, and music—on whatever level the ability of the student and his teacher dictates. Nothing, therefore, that I state here should be considered negative toward the continuation and strengthening of these group performances. Everyone knows that in their worst manifestations they are cheap examples of show business, and that, at their best, they constitute an approach to artistic levels of achievement and understanding. No, we need not attack in any way the concept of performance in the schools—except to hope that the percentage at the very top will constantly expand.

The point is, however—and let us face the fact straight on—that despite all the activity that has taken place in this century in our public schools there has been little or no carry-over from these activities into a conscious understanding of the arts by the students as they mature. Something has been missing. Why is it that a nation, which for so many decades has enjoyed expanding activities in the performing arts in its public schools, has not increased the percentage of the population which values these arts?

There are a number of answers but let me begin with the most fundamental one. It is possible—or quite likely—for a student to go through twelve years of public school education with his entire exposure to artistic excellence in the performing arts being limited to his own performing groups and the uplifting materials to which he is exposed at night on his television set.

Wherever is there placed before him an example of the highest artistic standards? What can he know about the real impact of music and its sister arts unless he is exposed liberally, consistently, and over a long time to the highest artistic standards of the best professionals? This is point number one, but even such exposure is not the entire story.

The problem is not the stress on student performance but on the assumption that those students who participate in the performing art groups in any school are getting a first-class education in those arts. The further assumption is that the other 90 percent of the student body, those who do not participate in performing groups, do not need instruction in the arts because they have not evinced any special interest.

Before you tell me about all the required classes in appreciation, let me throw in a qualifying thought. Classes in appreciation obviously have not been the answer. For one thing they deal mostly in music, virtually omitting the sister arts of dance and drama, and occupying only an infinitesimally small part of the curriculum. Furthermore, appreciation classes are almost entirely devoid of curricula conceived to develop perception rather than the amassing of factual data. We are making little progress to correct this deficiency because what we do is too little and almost entirely ineffective.

The result is that the American students coming out of the public schools are ignorant of artistic values and have not been led to the wonders of the arts through the many avenues educators have explored so brilliantly in the teaching of other subjects. All of this leads back to the fundamental problem: the lack of understanding of the arts as the basic stuff of education—as basic to the development of an educated person as mathematics, history, English, or any subject you care to name.

The Creative Process and Education

American public education does not recognize that if a man is callous, indifferent, and impotent in his abilities to see when he looks and to hear when he listens, he is just as deficient in the development of these God-given human potentialities as he would be if he could not read or write. If this be argumentative, then let the battle be joined.

When the performing arts are presented to students, they are often handed out as a form of entertainment rather than as a subject of serious thought and study. One evidence of this may be found in the fact that teachers tend to judge materials on the basis of popularity. Will the students *like* it? That is to say, if 50 percent of the students are bored by a string quartet, the answer tends to be that there is something wrong with the string quartet or that it is too difficult or too advanced and that, in consequence, the materials must meet the least common denominator. This is done with musical materials, but, in contrast, the English classes do not substitute *Charley's Aunt* for *King Lear*.

There is nothing wrong with popular materials but that does not get on with the business of confronting young people with civilization's creative giants. So we must boldly face the need to deal seriously with our young people and not to worry because great masterpieces are not always easily accessible. If the yardstick of popularity were applied to mathematics, half of the population would not be able to add and subtract. And nobody would be able to spell, which is nearly the case anyway.

Looking at it another way, there is a strange inconsistency in the attitude of educators between study of the arts and the historically accepted subject fields. It is assumed that a student gains by the very act of studying mathematics, that the discipline is meaningful for him even if he does not become a mathematician. It is our position that the same should be said of studying and really trying to hear and understand serious music, that even if the student does wind up disliking what he heard, the very effort of learning to perceive it is in itself education. This does not mean that everybody has to like the arts any more than that everyone has to like algebra. It simply means that the arts have a basic place in everyone's education, and the *act* of *studying* them is educational.

We are only beginning to understand the inevitable and fundamental natural affinity which exists between the creative process and the educational process. If the educational process is not creative, it is a bore and ineffective. And if the creative process is not educational, it is a dead end.

What do I imply by this? Must all creative work have an educational goal? The answer is yes. The nature of artistic creation is perforce educational because no work of art ever existed without a quotient of persuasion inherent in its message regardless of medium or intent. Any picture seen, play witnessed, music heard, dance observed, always constitutes an act of persuasion; hence an act which by its very nature educates. Yet the act of artistic creation need not be, and indeed rarely is, a conscious act of educating in the normal sense of the word.

The materials that have been presented by artists through the ages do provide the stuff of education in boundless measure. If, for example, we were to turn to Shakespeare for an elucidation of his political views as revealed through his plays, we could, by diverse interpretations of the characters through whom he speaks, assign almost any political predilection that we choose. The fact is that he does not educate us in specific political ideology. He educates us in diverse ways of reasoning, looking, and understanding.

Now it is easier to talk in terms of a Shakespearean character because we are dealing with the world of specific ideas and the world of flesh and blood, albeit through the magic of the theater. Yet precisely the same embodiment is contained in visual materials and in auditory materials. As we listen to the unfolding of the movement of a symphony, we cannot fall back on a linguistic image to guide us. What we are faced with is something of much subtler hue.

If we really are taught to listen, we follow the unfolding of the composition as clearly as the telling of a story. What is called into play is our ability to follow a musical "story line." The last section of a movement of a standard symphony, for example, usually contains a recapitulation of materials previously heard. These materials would pass absolutely unnoticed to the listener who did not recognize that he had been previously exposed to these same ideas.

And the same criteria pertain to the dance. The unfolding of a choreographic composition which, to the untutored eye, is but a series of pleasant or unpleasant visual impressions, to the tutored eye is the progression and development of previously conceived movements toward the achievement of an artistic whole.

We have taken for granted that young people should, in the course of their education, encounter the novels of Charles Dickens, the architecture of the Greeks, but not the symphonies of a Beethoven or the choreography of a George Balanchine. In theater, students think of the plays of Shakespeare as something to read but not as something to watch. Why is this so? Why is it that the live performing arts are presented dead?

Value of Live Performance

Certainly bringing the student to a professional "live" performance can be costly and administratively inconvenient. Certainly it involves either transporting the student to the performance or bringing the performance to the student. Certainly the performing arts do not come in the neat and inexpensive package of a book.

Yet, it is equally certain that all of these obstacles can be overcome granted one indispensable ingredient—the joint effort of artist and educator. In the past, both have been remiss. The educator has not sought or found ways to use institutions of the performing arts as a vital resource comparable to a library or a museum. And the performing arts institutions, with some notable exceptions, have made little effort to understand the needs and problems of the educators and to accord to them a high priority in their planning.

For us at Lincoln Center, this complex problem was the frontier at which we found ourselves eight years ago. We believed that as a performing arts center built in the public interest we had a profound obligation to do something more than simply open our marble halls. We sought a partnership with education.

Begun modestly with pilot programs in a few schools, this year our mutual effort will bring 100,000 students to regular performances at Lincoln Center and send 1,200 performances out to the schools where they will have an attendance of more than 1.2 million.

And this vast enterprise is indeed a partnership. To illustrate I would like to quote from a recent statement made by James E. Allen, Jr., New York State Commissioner of Education. Declaring that "an exciting relationship has developed between the State

Education Department and Lincoln Center," Commissioner Allen gave this rationale for our joint task:

> The State Education Department has long been committed to providing cultural humanistic education for children and young people. We have accepted a responsibility to "educate for living"—for enjoyment, in the deep and genuine sense, of the gift of life and the best expressions of man's eternal reach and search for beauty and meaning.
>
> If the education we provide in our schools can awaken and nourish in the students entrusted to us a deep and abiding interest in the fine arts, we shall have given a priceless gift which will enrich, enliven, and illuminate, not only the school years, but those many more years when life becomes often all too "real" and sometimes frighteningly "earnest."
>
> We seek also to provide, through opportunities in the fine arts, a means of communication—a bridge of understanding that can surmount barriers of race, color, language, ideology, and customs, and help to build a human understanding so desperately needed in a difficult and divided world.

Although I have used Dr. Allen's views as an enlightened statement of policy by a distinguished official of public education, I must quickly add that he is not alone. We also enjoy the support and cooperation of the education departments of Connecticut and New Jersey and literally hundreds of school boards throughout the region, not to mention the remarkably productive working relationship we have with Dr. Bernard A. Donovan, superintendent of the New York City schools, and his able staff.

Let me spend a few minutes describing to you specifically how our Lincoln Center Student Program actually works, for I feel that a description of this program may give you a clear picture of how at least one performing arts center serves the schools in its area. The large number of art centers now being built from one end of our country to the other gives point to this description, for we are convinced that our experiences at Lincoln Center have significance beyond the borders of our own region.

To begin with, let me emphasize that the true performing arts center should, of course, have within it all the principal areas of music, of dance, of drama, and of film and thus be in a position to provide the school system with a coordinated and balanced program in all of the performing arts, relieving the schools of the necessity of dealing with six or eight different institutions. Quite apart from the administrative convenience this centralization represents, the arts center and the educator working hand-in-hand can develop programs balanced both in artistic content and supporting instructional materials. Let me add that far from being a useful by-product of the performing arts center concept, it is, in my judgment, one of its fundamental and primary purposes.

At Lincoln Center we decided that the first phase of our educational program would be devoted to the secondary schools ranging from intermediate to senior high and covering the entire gamut of private, church-related, and public schools. We also decided that it was important to develop a "two-way street" concept—that is to say, sending performing arts groups into the schools and bringing students from the schools to Lincoln Center. Both directions, I believe, are essential. The presentation of performances in the schools makes possible the exposure to the arts of the entire student population ranging all the way from those who are already predisposed toward the arts to those who have had little or no experience with the arts. The performances in the schools, too, lend a note of reality, for they make possible a personal relationship between student and professional artist and demonstrate to the student that the arts—and their exponents—are not some mysterious creatures from another planet but men and women who have worked long years in preparing themselves for a demanding and exacting career. Then, too, performances in the schools make possible a very close relationship with the instructional program of the school and tend to remove the arts from the "field trip" or "added attraction" category.

On the other hand, there are few, if any, schools which can house the performing arts in their full panoply, and the transportation of major performing groups to schools presents enormous problems, both technical and financial. Therefore, in order to give students a chance to see these arts in their native habitat, it is important to find ways of developing the other side of the street, of bringing groups to the professional theater and concert hall. Furthermore, it is important that young people attend these performances as part of an adult audience rather than at special student concerts or student matinees.

When Students Attend

More specifically, Lincoln Center has asked its member institutions to develop special programs designed to fit into a classroom schedule and of dimensions, in terms of numbers of performers and physical requirements, to fit into the limitations of the available high school auditorium. These groups include lecture-demonstrations in opera presented by the Metropolitan Opera Studio and New York City Opera Company; in ballet prepared by the New York City Ballet; in theater by the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center; in modern dance by the Dance Division of the Juilliard School; and in solo and chamber music concerts performed by artists from Juilliard. In addition, the Center has always included among its offerings the art of film, which is perhaps the most authentically 20th century art of them all. This year, for the first time, we have developed a lecture-demonstration called "Fantasy in Film" in which we attempt to direct the attention of young people to film as an art, as distinguished from its purely informational or entertainment function.

Let me emphasize here that we urge schools to subscribe to a series of variegated performances rather than to single events on a hit or miss basis. By attending a whole series of events, a student can be given at least a glimpse of the range of the performing arts. It is important that all performances presented in the schools maintain rigid standards of high professionalism. While it is justifiable to make compromises in terms of length of program and physical dimension to meet special school needs, it is not justifiable to make compromises in the selection of the quality of the repertoire presented or in the abilities of the artists who participate in these programs. Every artist who has toured the schools under the Lincoln Center Student Program testifies to the fact that, however naive the student audience, there is no group in his entire experience more discerning in its recognition of quality.

At Lincoln Center we are fortunate in being able to offer students in the schools of our region the New York Philharmonic, the Metropolitan Opera, the New York City Ballet, the New York City Opera Company, the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center. While only a great metropolitan center can support such a galaxy, it is my belief that an increasing demand for those opportunities on the part of educators will make possible a vast expansion in the number of professional performing groups. Furthermore, I doubt very much that the opportunities existing in the various communities across the country are being fully exploited. Have you examined the resources of your own community? Have you talked with the arts council in your region? Have you developed a strong working relationship with your local symphony orchestra? Have you examined the possibility of working with existing groups to strengthen their resources and, hence, to improve the quality of their services? In short, have you exercised initiative in providing your students with firsthand experience with live, performing professionals?

Materials To Integrate the Performing Arts

Going back to our own program at Lincoln Center, we rely heavily on the active participation of individual schools in the planning and execution of our programs. For the performing arts institution itself, however eager, cannot act alone if the performing arts program is to be anything more than just another assembly period or just another field trip. At Lincoln Center we work actively with the educational community in developing appropriate study materials for use by teachers and students. These materials, prepared by artists sensitive to the needs of education, deal with the arts and do not, of course, attempt to advise the professional educator on pedagogical procedures. The organization and implementation of the instructional program is the province of the educator, and at Lincoln Center we are fortunate in having the active collaboration of our State Education Department and of our New York City Board of Education in developing these plans.

One of the most important lessons Lincoln Center and the educational community have learned is to include teachers from all the disciplines—not just the arts—and school administrators and librarians—to give all an opportunity to experience the arts at firsthand. We were surprised to discover that many of our school colleagues had never seen a live performance.

In the summer of 1967, the New York State Education Department sponsored a Performing Arts Convocation at Lincoln Center on the subject of the "Role of the Performing Arts in the School Curriculum." On the occasion of our Lincoln Center Festival '67, school teams spent a week at Lincoln Center, attending lectures by noted artists and educators during the day, and attending evening performances of symphony, opera, and theater by major performing groups. The school teams consisted of the principal, the librarian, and two teachers from each of 200 school districts.

This convocation generated so much interest and excitement that a number of the districts represented have held or are preparing to hold performing arts convocations of their own.

Perhaps the most important outgrowth, however, of the Performing Arts Convocation at Lincoln Center was the decision of the Division of the Humanities and the Arts in the New York State Education Department to develop curriculum materials which will give teachers concrete and tangible techniques to use in the classroom to integrate the performing arts into the curriculum. The subject specialists of the Department are now preparing these materials in association with Lincoln Center and its member institutions.

It seems to me, with regard to the specific curriculum in the performing arts, that you must deal with two central complementary elements:

1. Studies which lead to an understanding of the work of art itself
2. Studies which lead to an understanding of the *relationship* of the work of art to the world around it.

There are many ways of approaching the study of the performing arts to achieve these objectives. I will suggest two for your consideration.

Both are built around a carefully organized sequence of "live" performances representing a cross-section of the performing arts and the repertories of these arts. Actual classroom activity might be organized along the following lines:

First, a course of study devoted exclusively to the performing arts. This would be a general exploratory course, characterized by live performances at prearranged intervals and drawing upon the teaching staff from the various areas of specialization. For example, weekly classes during a school year of 36 weeks, could be divided into four units of study: music, the dance, the theater, and film. The unit on music could include studies in actual listening and perception as well as the history of music and the organization of musical institutions. The demonstrations would include not only the "live" professional concerts but would also bring outstanding musical talent in the community into the classroom for firsthand encounters with students. Similar procedures could be followed in the other arts.

The second approach would be the organized infusion of the performing arts into the various areas of the curriculum in an interdisciplinary approach. Here the entire school would devote its attention to the four aspects of the performing arts periodically during the year on a unit basis, with each unit leading up to a performance in the school attended by the entire school.

The State Education Department of New York is now developing curriculum plans along these lines. The first such plan is a curriculum guide built around Rossini's opera *The Barber of Seville*. Work in the music classes, of course, centers around the study of the score, of the musical structure, of the nature of the singing voice. Art classes are concerned with costumes and settings of the period and the visual aspects of theatrical production. Language classes deal with the text of the opera, with the point of the play (Beaumarchais) upon which the libretto was based, in French, and its translation into Italian, and subsequently into English. English classes deal with the play of Beaumarchais and how it became translated into an opera libretto. Social studies classes deal with the opera as an institution and with performing arts institutions in general, and particularly in Italy.

You will each have your own ideas as how best to develop performing arts curricula. The illustrations I have given are meant merely to be illustrative and to emphasize that effective study of the performing arts requires actual experience with the real thing—the live product and the guidance of those who are equipped to enlighten others in the perception of the works themselves.

And, second, I have sought to emphasize the complementary nature of more general studies which can relate a given work of art to its social fabric.

Now I can see looming in your minds the giant question mark: How is this program financed?

Just as we work in partnership with the schools on the educational front and in the organizational and management front, so we are in partnership in financing the program. Lincoln Center and its member institutions each year seek—and obtain—contributions from the private sector.

The New York State Education Department has officially approved the Lincoln Center Student Program as a curriculum-related activity, thus permitting schools to use state or local funds to finance performances from Lincoln Center. Second, the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 opened another avenue of support, federal funds under Title III. As early as January 1966, in fact, the New York City Board of Education had already received a $127,000 grant specifically designated to meet the cost of importing a series of four Lincoln Center performances into 50 selected schools—public, private, and parochial. The grant also covered costs of sending students to performances at the Center itself.

Both state and federal funds, however, are limited to artists' fees and traveling expenses. Lincoln Center assumes the heavy cost of rehearsals, productions, and administration and must rely on its fund-raising effort to meet that cost.

To give you some idea of the specific costs of participation in the Lincoln Center school program, we provide a school with 2,000 students a solo recital, a chamber music concert, a repertory theater presentation, a dance demonstration, an opera demonstration, and a film program—six different performances all for less than ninety cents per student or fifteen cents a performance. We also make it possible for students to attend regular performances at Lincoln Center by providing specially priced tickets ranging from $1.50 to $2.00. These prices have been reduced, through Lincoln Center's underwriting, from a regular level of up to $7 and more.

Permit me now to do some daydreaming. Suppose that we actually developed a curriculum which would give to each child growing up in the United States an understanding of these performing arts comparable to his involvement with sports, automobiles, and fashion—what would be the results? Quite simply they would be fantastic, and they would be profound.

Let us start with the tangibles. The great building boom of the arts centers would prove to be grossly inadequate to meet the needs. Instead of three or four percent of the population interested in and committed to the performing arts, we would have fifty percent. In consequence, instead of having twenty major symphony orchestras we would need hundreds, and our secondary orchestras instead of totaling the present 1,200 would reach thousands. We would have an opera company in every major city—and the same would apply to repertory theaters, ballet, and modern dance. We would see a greatly expanded consciousness toward the arts in the daily press across the country. It staggers the imagination to know what would happen if the bulk of our population were really tuned in. Imagine what it would be like when the driver of your taxi would say to you, "Hey mister, you know Cleveland is playing tonight?" and instead of the ball team, he would mean the Symphony Orchestra.

These would be some of the surface manifestations if we were able to reach our educational ideal. Yet there are more significant results than these which would be achieved.

What happens to a people for whom the values of the arts run deep? Let us not overstate the case. Let us not say that this love of the arts, ipso facto, gives them moral stature, because history tells us otherwise. No, I do not claim that an appreciation of great art on the part of the majority of the public—or even those in charge—guarantees moral fiber.

Yet nowhere has there yet been a demonstration of what could happen in a democratic society if an entire nation were instilled with the perception that would enable it to cherish artistic pursuits. No nation has had that experience.

I believe that if our nation as a whole were responsive to art, it would cherish man's creative impulse. And a more deeply human system of values is produced by an understanding of this creative impulse. In making our case, let us not fall into the fundamental error of claiming that even the greatest program of education in the arts can cure social ills. Such is not the case. You cannot satisfy a craving stomach with a play by Ibsen. Yet, it *is* true that the arts improve the quality of life.

Today our society has grown so complex and our inventions so all-pervading that man seems a victim of his institutions and beliefs rather than their creator. To some gloomy prophets society has become paralyzed, man is doomed, and the voice of Cassandra fills the land. Yet I believe American society still possesses its options. I believe it can make moral, not amoral, choices that will enhance, reinforce, and make possible a life of quality.

The arts are crucial to our automated age, they serve as a creative illumination to counteract the push-button emptiness of our mechanized life, an armor against the disillusionment and anxiety of our times, and an added defense against the destructive forces inherent in man.

For educators not to grasp the vitality, the spirituality, and the intellectuality of art as central to an educated man is to ignore the measure by which our civilization will be judged.

Mass Living: Impact on Man and His Environment

A. Donald Bourgeois

AT THE outset, I think we should be clear about what we mean by "mass living." First, there is the physical aspect of mass living, which brings to mind the population explosion and the resulting increase in population density—in short, people are living much closer together today, and the trend indicates they will have even less space in the future. But some people are living closer together than others, obviously. In fact, the only place in America where you can *truly* speak of mass living is in the urban ghetto. In some St. Louis neighborhoods, there are over 200 persons per acre of living space, while in some suburbs, the figure is more like 1.7 persons per acre. Thus, if we are to speak about mass living in the physical sense, we are going to have to focus on urban centers and upon the ghettos within them.

There is also a social aspect to mass living. By this we mean people have more contact with other people of all sorts, and the interdependence between them tends to increase. This is what accounts for the "worldliness" of the city-dweller—his contact with and knowledge of all sorts of people. Their interdependence is vividly demonstrated every time some group in a large city goes on strike—witness the helplessness of New Yorkers when the subway employees or the garbagemen strike.

Finally, mass living has a cultural connotation. Communications technology has given us the mass media—instant communication to millions of people is a fact of life today. This means American culture is being transmitted on a mass scale, and is consequently leveling the differences that used to exist between the cultures of various groups. The subcultures traditionally associated with social class groups, ethnic groups, and regional groupings are swiftly disappearing before the greater leveler of television. We should note that this is true also for the so-called "culture of poverty" in the urban ghetto.

Through the medium of television, especially, the values and goals of the middle class have become those of all Americans. If this is what we mean by mass living, then, let us take a look at the urban centers in America today, where mass living is becoming an important environmental feature. The cities impress us, first of all, with their rapid rate of growth and change, which began shortly after World War II and has not slowed since. Yet the most distinctive thing about this growth is its virtually uncontrolled nature. At a time when man was never better equipped technologically to master his environment, and to shape it for human needs, he has so far been unable or unwilling to control the growth and shape of his cities.

I have said that the urban ghetto is the only place where true mass living is happening today. Any metropolitan area in America demonstrates this fact. In addition to the very visible difference in population density between ghetto and suburban areas of the cities, there is also a difference with regard to the degree of social mass living which is taking place. The average suburbanite is able to restrict his contact with the varieties of fellow urbanites very well indeed. Paralleling the school districts, particularly, the cities consist of islands of homogeneity—little enclaves of people who cherish and protect their stereotypes and ignorance of other groups by limiting their contact with them. Residential segregation, which results in school segregation, is only part of this separatism. As Michael Harrington pointed out, in *The Other America*, poverty tends to be invisible because it is concentrated in the slums and ghettos of the city, and the express highways which carry city dwellers to and from work are routed and constructed in such a way that no one has to see the slums. In other words, through construction patterns and zoning laws, social contact between groups in the city is increasingly limited, stereotypes persist, and the truly cosmopolitan city-dwellers are few and far between.

The Opportunity Structure

Mass culture has given Americans a set of values and goals—a vision of the good life—which is widely shared, regardless of class or color. However, the means by which these goals may be reached are not equally available to all Americans. The opportunity structure—the road to the good life—is open to some, closed or partially blocked to others. This combination of common goals and unequal access to the opportunity structure, is a most deadly one. If we are searching for the root cause of riots, this is surely high on the suspect list.

Mass living, then, has brought modern man an urban environment characterized by paradox: Dense concentrations of population where people have at least the opportunity for contact with others of diverse types, where they are increasingly dependent upon one another and where they have come to share an almost identical set of values and goals. In this same urban environment, however, people live in isolated groups, restricting their contact with other groups, and the widely shared goals are much more obtainable for some groups than for others. The haves and the have-nots possess a common image of the good life—both receive the standard public school version of equal opportunity in America—but to the have-nots, it is a bitter lie. And as the have-nots begin to resort to violence in order that their message may carry over the walls of the ghetto, the haves begin to perceive that their splendid isolation within the urban environment is extremely precarious. More than anything else, mass living means that man must confront his fellow man. Physically, culturally, and socially they are being forced inevitably into a confrontation in the urban centers. Whether this will continue to be a violent confrontation depends entirely upon man's ability to recognize its inevitability, and to fashion non-violent means of resolving the differences.

For all of these reasons, let us focus on mass living, on the urban environment, and particularly on the ghetto, where the crisis is taking shape. We have, evidently, two alternatives before us in responding to the ghetto riots of the past few years. One alternative is that of riot control and riot institutionalization. City law enforcement agencies and the national guard are already well along in their efforts to perfect riot control mechanisms—seminars are held every week in some city, and the battle plans are drawn. At the same time, public officials at every level of government are regularly on television, forecasting another summer of riots, just as the shrewd football coach is careful to prepare his fans for another losing season. Elected officials are everywhere preparing Americans psychologically to expect and to resign themselves to urban riots on a regular, seasonal schedule. They are working to create a climate of public acceptance for seasonal riots.

The voices of reason are lost in this rising chorus of pessimism. Just as the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was issuing its historic report, the Senate was being treated to a filibuster in the face of reports that housing discrimination was a root cause of riots. In the face of several such reports of various riot investigation committees, the Congress last fall mercilessly cut appropriations for the poverty program and the Model Cities Programs. On the other hand, the President's request for federal support for law enforcement agencies has met with strong support in both houses of Congress. Riot control and riot institutionalization are, then, the present response to the urban crisis.

The second alternative, of course, would be to attend to the message of the riots—for they are, above all, a desperate attempt to communicate through an impenetrable wall, to an audience which does not want to hear the message. Harder to accept and very much more difficult, though less costly, to act upon, this message is telling us of the frustration of seeking the American dream when the acceptable means of reaching it are denied. Recently, the President's Commission on Civil Disorders submitted a report which spelled out this message and called for an immediate, massive response. The price tag is comparable to our expenditures in Viet Nam. Unfortunately, no one has been able to cost out the alternative of riot control and institutionalization.

The President's Commission correctly analyzes the urban problem as a complex and comprehensive one, cutting across housing, employment, education, health, and on through the whole variety of physical and social needs. The Model Cities Program also recognizes the need for a comprehensive approach, and in St. Louis, we have chosen a systems perspective. This means that each problem area interacts with all of the others in such a way that we cannot talk about intervening in one without considering the impact upon the others. As I have suggested, mass living tends to maximize this interdependence, so that the systems approach is most logical in considering urban problems.

The problems of education in the urban ghetto have been documented and analyzed a thousand times over. In the last analysis, however, we are always confronted with the same hard fact: children at all levels in ghetto schools achieve at a rate lower than that of their peers in other schools. The disparity does not decrease with an increase in grade level; moreover, it is greater for high school children than it is for first and second graders. Students in ghetto high schools are so miserably far behind that they are now being offered "certificates of attendance" in many cities, in place of the high school diploma, upon graduation. Most of our current educational theories are an attempt to explain this phenomenon, and the federal government annually expends millions to test out such theories in ghetto schools. And educators are joined in this effort by a variety of professionals—sociologists, psychologists, ministers, social workers—all have gotten into the act. But I would argue that all they have provided us with is a series of myths.

Now, myths are very useful and important—they have always been so, to man down through the ages. Generally, they perform the function of explaining the unknown—thereby dispelling its fearsome qualities—and of prescribing some kind of therapy—an activity, often ritualistic, which man can pursue to cope with the problematic unknown. Notice that it is not important whether the mythical explanation is "true," in the scientific sense, or whether the prescribed therapeutic activity is, in fact, successful. The myth performs its functions independent of any such considerations—it alleviates fear by offering an explanation for the unknown, and it alleviates anxiety by giving man something to do about it. Myth is, in fact, a form of magic, and we delude ourselves if we believe that our age of science has freed us from magic and myth—for science and magic have much in common and the line between the two is very hard to distinguish.

Myths About Ghetto Education

What are some of these myths about education in the ghetto? The major myth, one which builds upon and supports all the others, is that quality education and the ghetto are antithetical. In simpler terms, as stated or implied daily in schools across the country—ghetto children cannot learn. There are several smaller myths which reinforce and explain this large myth. Let us examine their consequences for the everyday practice of education in ghetto schools.

Some years ago the theory of racial, or biological inferiority was used to explain the lower achievement of ghetto children. This was a very serviceable myth for a long time. Unfortunately, it gave way to certain scientific findings in the 1930's, and a new myth had to be developed. In its place, we now have the cultural deprivation myth, which is anchored securely in the culture of poverty myth. Decorated impressively with the trappings of pseudo-Freudian theory and some of the newer social-psychological learning theories, the cultural deprivation myth tells us that ghetto children are a product, as are all of us, of their cultural background. Thus, their low educational achievement may be explained in terms of their "deprived culture"—in other words, their culture is lacking in a number of essential ingredients which account for the scholastic success of middle-class, white Americans.

Now, this has been a very satisfactory myth, in that it carries with it the implication that the fault does not lie within the school system, and further, that it is a problem not susceptible to solution. Social scientists have assured us repeatedly of the almost magical qualities of culture—how its continuity is carefully guarded as it is transmitted from one generation to the next, and how it is internalized so that most individuals are not even aware of it. Note also how this myth is a versatile one, managing to explain away at the same time, the differences in life style between ghetto dwellers and suburbanites.

Nor is this myth very much damaged by the evidence of contradictory facts. For example, how is it that ghetto children, once they enter the school system, actually lose ground in achievement level rather than gain in it? Surely the public schools represent an injection of non-deprived, middle-class American culture into their lives—why does it not, then, tend to decrease the disparity between their achievement and that of their suburban peers, over time? Why, in fact, does this disparity become so pronounced that many of the ghetto youngsters drop out of school completely by the time they are 15? Never mind, says the myth, this is because when they leave the culturally-rich classroom, they go home to the same old diluted culture of poverty. Particularly, goes the mythical explanation, their parents do not value education, and they lack the deferred gratification pattern.

Now this last concept—the deferred gratification pattern—is a particularly precious piece of mythical explanation offered to us by the sociologists, when confronted with the problem of why the Negro in America fails to take advantage of the acceptable mobility routes utilized by the middle-class masses. Middle-class children, they say, are taught by their parents to defer present gratification in favor of future, long-range gratification. Thus, they stay in school, deferring all sorts of immediate pleasures so they will receive greater gratifications in the long range. Ghetto children, on the other hand, are taught to take their pleasures as they appear, ready to hand. Thus, they play hookey, and drop out of school in order to take a job and earn money with which to buy a fancy car, gaudy clothes, and liquor, and get married right away.

Widely quoted and believed, this myth requires an enormous act of faith when challenged by the shallowest level of common sense analysis. I ask you, first of all, to dwell upon the legendary sacrifices made by the average, middle-class teen-ager, who chooses to remain in school until he is 21 or 27. Clothed like a movie star, he is handsomely supported by his parents, has the use of the family car, and has a rich and sophisticated relationship with members of the opposite sex. By staying in school for 16 to 20 years and enduring these hardships, he is able indefinitely to defer the sublime gratifications of marriage, parenthood, and, incidentally, military service.

Similarly, we should look closely at the lavish pleasures for which the ghetto child is reputed to forsake his formal education. In many cases, he leaves school for a menial job in order to help support younger brothers and sisters and to obtain a minimum necessary level of food and clothing for himself . . . perhaps the first time in his life he has been able to do so. Early marriage, for the ghetto teen-ager, represents an escape from the miserable environment of the family home and the heavy responsibilities it demands of him. But, the myth argues, they would be better off to stay in school so they would have a better chance of breaking out of poverty and the ghetto—unfortunately, they just do not appreciate the value of education.

Perhaps we should take a closer look at that last statement. Just what *is* the value of education for Negroes in America? The census statistics are one source of information, and there have been some other surveys on the question. As it happens, for any given level of educational attainment, Negroes may expect to earn far less income in their lifetimes than whites. In other words, in terms of earning power, education is less valuable for Negroes than for whites, and this is most marked at the highest levels of educational achievement! While these statistics may be startling to us, you can be sure they refer to a fact of life well known to ghetto-dwellers. Perhaps, then, the "lower value placed on education" in the ghetto is realistic, rather than a characteristic of the culturally-deprived.

But there may be still another, more basic reason why ghetto parents are seen as "uncooperative" by educators who would like them to keep their children in school. This reason is rarely discussed or even suggested, because it touches upon the most sensitive area of education, or of black/white relations in America, generally. I refer to the quality of face-to-face contacts, of interaction between black and white, between teacher and pupil, the way prejudice affects this interaction, and what kind of message each party receives from it. Precisely because it is submerged on the subconscious level for most people, it is rarely perceived as such. I call this quality of black/white relations in America, the "Daily Insult." And I am going to digress for a moment from the subject of education and talk about the Daily Insult which is so familiar a part of everyday life in America for Negroes.

The Daily Insult

No man has ever seen himself as completely alone. All men see themselves as part of some larger group, and one such group is the nation in which they live. And each national group has some image of itself, some symbol of English, or German, or French, or American pride. Thus, individual Americans partake of a national image of weath, power, arrogance, and success. But surely wealth, power, and success are not the image of black Americans. What, then?

By way of illustration, let me relate a few incidents. When I was a youngster around Chicago, my sister and I used to go to the Michigan Theater on Sundays. There was always a universally black audience. The late Claude Barnett, founder of the Associated Negro Press, used to host filmed shorts highlighting this unusual Negro or that one. These clips were shown in black theaters across the country. Invariably, whenever the feature was shown and a Negro was portrayed in a role other than that of a servant or flunky, all us kids would break out in nervous laughter. I remember it well. Blood would rush to my face, and I would become very embarrassed.

Another incident. I grew up in Chicago but we were forever taking the train to New Orleans. In Chicago the train and the station were racially integrated, but once past Cairo, Illinois, things were different. The separate cars for Negroes were generally right behind the engine and were filled with soot and dirt. The facilities in the stations in the South were marked plainly, "For White Only," or "For Colored Only," and those assigned to Negroes were visibly inferior, dirty, and poorly maintained.

One more incident. When I first came to St. Louis, my wife elected to remain behind with the children until school was out. I was, therefore, free to participate in a live-in experiment in order to learn at firsthand what it was like to be poor. An apartment in public housing was selected and outfitted, and I was its first occupant. One of the failings of high-rise public housing in St. Louis (and elsewhere) is the absence of public toilet facilities on the ground level. As a child, when you were out playing and felt the urge, you either ran in the house or you found a handy bush or you went between garages. But the children of public housing have no bushes or garages, and to ride an elevator upstairs takes too long and, besides, you run the risk of losing your turn at play or of Mama making you stay in once you are there. So, the kids use the elevators for the toilet. I knew of this behavior phenomenon before I moved in, and I was prepared for it. But, on the night I moved in, laden with packages and suitcases, I was shocked.

First, there was the quarter-inch puddle of urine. Then, there was the odor. I consider myself the possessor of a strong stomach, but the sensation of being trapped inside a huge urinal was too much. Once upstairs, I washed off my shoes and vowed never again to ride the elevator. But I did ride it again, the next evening. And, while I dreaded the ride, there was not the nauseated feeling of the first time. The next few days my distaste lessened even more and, on the fifth day, not only did the elevator's condition not bother me, I actually felt a sensation that I wanted to go to the bathroom when I got on the elevator!

I cried that night because then I understood. My people and I were expected to behave as dogs, something less than human. Even the terminology by which we were known is negative: nonwhite. You are not white. You are not what it takes to be "in," to belong. You are identified by what you are not. White, nonwhite, and other. Even if we were "other" it might be different. We were neither "white" nor "other." We were deficient. We were "nonwhite."

The culture of poverty myth sustains this image of blacks—we are "culturally deprived," we lack culture. The masses of Americans view the Negro in his ghetto setting—surrounded by broken-down houses, garbage-strewn streets, dressed in raggedy clothing and smelling bad, and they form a stereotypical image of "Niggerism." This, it is implied, is how the Negro chooses to live—the exceptional case of the black Supreme Court Justice is an instance of a Negro who somehow overcame his natural environment and "Niggerism" culture. They correctly perceive some of this as a holdover from the slave days, and they incorrectly perceive both as somehow "natural" to the Negro race.

A Separate Standard

Americans have, however, a separate standard for perceiving the Jews in Nazi concentration camps. The same miserable surroundings, the same tattered clothing, the same stench were viewed as "Nazism," not "Jewism." And yet, the similarities between the situations of Negroes in the ghetto today and Jews in Nazi concentration camps have been widely recognized, especially the lack of choice available to both groups. Why, then, do we refer to one as "Niggerism," and to the other as "Nazism"? In fact, we should term the ghetto condition "Americanism," for that is the source of the Negro condition today, just as surely as Nazism was the source of the condition of Jews in concentration camps. And it is Americanism, not Niggerism, which keeps Negroes in the ghetto, which keeps them at the bottom of the educational, occupational, and income heaps. It is a feature of American middle-class culture which produces the low achievement level of ghetto children in school, not a feature of their own, "deprived" culture. It is, in short, all a part of the Daily Insult, an everyday message from white, middle-class Americans to black Americans in the ghetto.

In education, I have suggested that the Daily Insult takes the form of the "big myth"—that ghetto children cannot learn, supported by some smaller myths—the reason they cannot learn is because of the inadequate culture handed down to them by their parents, who do not value education. Should we perhaps consider that it is not a case of ghetto parents not valuing education, but rather one of their hating the schools and the teachers, who come right into the ghetto to deliver the Daily Insult? Yes, Americans will go to great lengths to deliver the Daily Insult, beginning with the black child at the age of 5 or 6.

Charles Cooley, the social psychologist, elaborated the way in which individuals form a self-image from the reactions and responses of others to them. Thus, the ghetto child learns very early in school, from his teachers, that he "cannot learn." And this becomes part of his self-image, producing what Robert K. Merton has termed the "self-fulfilling prophecy"—if we predict something (especially in the area of human behavior) long and loudly enough, then it is more likely to happen. In just this way, the ghetto child, repeatedly told in insidious ways that he cannot learn, does not learn. Both teachers and children have virtually given up by the 4th or 5th grade—and the classroom begins to resemble a maximum security custodial institution, where highest priority is given to "keeping order" and "reporting absenteeism."

Notice that the consequences of the cultural deprivation myth are the same as those of the racial inferiority myth, insofar as educational policies and practices are concerned. Neither suggests a positive solution, for both allude to inaccessible problems. What would happen, I wonder, if we discarded these myths, and focused upon the negative self-image as a product of the Daily Insult and the self-fulfilling prophecy? In fact, it has been tried once or twice and has produced highly successful results. In the Banneker School District, in St. Louis, and also in Junior High School 43 in Harlem, pilot projects were initiated to raise the achievement levels of students.

In both cases, the teachers were invited to focus on that goal and to assume that they could (and the children could) succeed. There was virtually no other new educational technique or material introduced in either school—and yet the students advanced remarkably in achievement level as a result of both programs. The only thing which changed was the attitude of the teachers regarding the ability of the students to learn, as well as a redefinition of the goals of teaching. Perhaps because these programs were not dramatic in their experimental techniques, they have not been widely adopted in other schools. The big myth is much more acceptable and seductively attractive. But I suggest to you the significance of the following questions by Kenneth B. Clark, in *Dark Ghetto:*

> To what extent do these theories (myths) obscure more basic reasons for the educational retardation of lower-status children? To what extent do they offer acceptable and desired alibis for the educational default: the fact that these children, by and large, do not learn because they are not being taught effectively, and they are not being taught because those who are charged with the responsibility of teaching them do not believe that they can learn, do not expect that they can learn, and do not act toward them in ways which help them to learn.[1]

Because the cultural deprivation, or culture of poverty myth emphasizes the inadequacies in the ghetto, it leads quite logically to therapies which involve action from outside the ghetto. Thus, the various experimental educational programs directed to ghetto children generally consist of new techniques or materials learned or developed outside the ghetto by individuals who may never even have visited a ghetto. Teachers are given these experimental tools and told to go into the ghetto school and apply them.

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[1] Kenneth B. Clark. *Dark Ghetto.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965.

Resources of Ghetto Culture

Think for a moment of what might happen if we focused upon the *richness* of ghetto culture, rather than upon its inadequacies. Consider the resourcefulness and initiative required daily to survive in the ghetto. These are the very traits which some educators have been finding lacking in the middle and upper class students who come to college. And yet, every ghetto child must have them, must sharpen them in order to survive. By the time he reaches school, the ghetto child has learned to look out for himself in the streets and has exercised great ingenuity each day in quest of a square meal—in short, he is in many respects more self-sufficient than his suburban counterparts.

Small wonder the exploits and life style of the "Dick, Jane, and Sally" family described at great length in every first-grade reader, are a bit foreign to him. But he perceives immediately that this is a life style approved by his teacher—that of the smiling, white, middle-class family, complete with house, yard, dog, cat, and family car, where the dress and manners of everyone are above reproach. Nothing which served him so well out in the streets, none of the knowledge or resourcefulness which has enabled him to cope with the realities of the ghetto—absolutely none of this is relevant to the public school classroom where he finds himself at age 6. That will to survive, the tremendous energy he has mobilized outside the classroom—both could be channeled into the task of learning, if only the teacher could recognize these resources in his ghetto students.

Let us go, for a moment, beyond the ghetto classroom and the students and consider their parents. Do they, too, possess some untapped personal resources? If we grant that the ghetto does, indeed, have a culture, and that part of it is rich with survival techniques, then we must assume they do. However, if ghetto teachers are socially and emotionally remote from their students, they are completely isolated from real contact with their parents. Such contact is limited to a caricature of a middle-class school custom, the PTA. Here, a handful of ghetto parents dressed to the teeth in their Sunday clothes gather at the school and share coffee and cookies with one or two school personnel. It is typically a one-way form of communication, where the parents attempt to imitate their impression of a suburban PTA gathering, and the teachers and school officials join them in the charade.

The crisis of the ghetto school is never more invisible, more remote. The parents are rewarded by being accepted, for the moment, as middle-class solid citizens, the teachers feel they are doing their part, and never is heard a discouraging word. Some conversation is exchanged, typically, on the subject of truancy and vandalism, and the disgrace of those other (not present) negligent parents. The ghetto PTA parents are thus allowed to agree with the school personnel on the cultural deprivation theory of educational failures. They accept the Daily Insult and even have learned to mouth it themselves.

Could something more and better be done? Yes, I think it could, provided, of course, everyone agreed temporarily to shelve the cultural deprivation theory and assume ghetto parents have some human resources to offer. For example, the Community School concept is one which gives neighborhood residents an active role in developing school policy and puts them in partnership with school professional personnel. This requires facing the real problems squarely and honestly, and thus is much harder than the institution of some novel edûcational technique. Suppose, for instance, that neighborhood parents were given control of the annual budget earmarked for repairs due to vandalism. Then, if they could reduce vandalism, they could decide how to spend the funds saved—and for what other educational purposes. This type of parental involvement is both manageable and tangible, and the responsibility and authority of parents could be increased as they gain experience in dealing with school problems. In such ways, also, educators may come into more direct contact with the ghetto and those who live there, and this is the only way—through direct communication—to dispel the stereotypes, and even the Daily Insult, which rest upon them.

The Luxury of Delusions

Other solutions to the problem of education in the ghetto have been tried and proved successful—for example, if reading is the chief problem, then take one whole year to teach nothing but reading. Yet, for some reason these solutions are rarely applied elsewhere, and are frequently dropped at the end of the "demonstration" period in the very schools which have tested them. For one thing, local governments are unwilling or unable to pick up the tab, as white, middle-class families continue to flock to the suburbs, where they are happy to endorse a school tax rate three times higher than that of the city they left. Bold requests from city school boards, recognizing the true cost of providing equal education to ghetto children and asking for giant bond issues to finance this cost, are often rejected by the voters, who interpret the requests as benefiting only the slum dwellers. They are still deluding themselves that they can live a safe, segregated existence, within an urban environment which supports such inequities.

We cannot afford the luxury of such delusions, of such myths, very much longer. We must learn to calculate the cost of the Daily Insult, as well as the future cost of clinging to our myths. Mass living, especially in the urban environment, is rushing us toward a confrontation with the truth, swiftly consuming the time we have left to wrap ourselves securely in our myths. That confrontation will be costly, and all the more so as we procrastinate until it is too late to forestall a bloody revolution. Forgive me if I seem to join the ranks of the forecasters of gloom and doom. I have just been reading the reactions of our Congress to the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, and I am somewhat pessimistic about the quality of leadership in this country in a time of crisis. Let me share with you some quotes: "Wholly unrealistic —may raise hopes and expectations which could do more harm than good" (Rep. George H. Mahon, Tex.); "Propaganda ad nauseam" (Rep. F. Edward Hebert, La.); "Unrealistic, highly exaggerated and did the country a disservice" (Sen. Allen J. Ellender, La.); "The answer to every problem seems to be to spend more of the taxpayers' money . . . there just isn't enough money to go around" (Rep. William M. Colmer, Miss.); "A turn-the-other-cheek to lawlessness. It offers little encouragement to the millions of Americans who believe the way to stop riots is to use strong methods" (Sen. Russell B. Long, La.). Thus, I am gloomy, not about the problems themselves and the possibility of their solution, but rather about our likelihood of facing those problems and of mobilizing the resources needed to solve them.

With respect to education in particular, I would suggest that we must face the problem of mass living in the ghetto where it exists. The ghetto is our only laboratory for testing approaches to this problem. There is much political pressure on educators, as on other professionals today, to produce easy, cookbook solutions to the problems. We must, above all, avoid this pitfall, for it has allowed the problems to grow to their present proportions. Most of all, however, we must avoid defining the problems as unsolvable. Not only would this be untrue, but it would also constitute a deliberate invitation to violence in a country which has traditionally developed nonviolent mechanisms for conflict resolution.

Political Power: Impact on Educational Direction

Nicholas A. Masters

THE AMERICAN educational system today faces probably more grave challenges than at any other time in its history. We have, particularly under the Johnson Administration, made a total commitment to free public education, a commitment designed not only to serve our vocational and technological needs but also to provide avenues of upward social mobility and social acceptance, of tolerance and understanding for all our citizens. This indeed is a tremendous burden to carry; this indeed is a significant challenge. But the clock will not be turned back. We must meet the commitment. We may yearn for those quieter, more peaceful days when issues were less complicated, when we did not live in fear of riots, demonstrations, and civil disorder, when we could live without fear of World War III, when a Viet Nam was not relevant, and international responsibilities and commitments could be comfortably ignored. Yes, we can look back if we want to; but society and technology will *not* allow us to *go* back. For this is a world of turmoil; it is not peaceful. And ours is a society of conflict and emotion, because 20 million Negro Americans have changed or broadened their aspirations and will not respect old values that block and hinder their progress and their efforts for a better life.

Politically, a school system is charged with the responsibility of indoctrination; yes, I said indoctrination. It is charged with the responsibility for bringing about acceptance of our social, our economic, our political system. Our public school curriculum is value oriented; it is geared toward the acceptance of certain values, the rejection of others. Yet the crucial political question is whether the curricula will be designed to promote acceptance on the basis of understanding and a full appraisal of the facts or whether we will continue to dodge the important questions, bury the facts that are discomforting, and ignore the obvious social injustices that surround us.

In the days and months ahead the educational system, if it is to remain the viable force in our society that it was always intended to be, must exercise all of the imagination in its possession to meet the challenge of urban decay, minority discrimination, and social alienation. I must emphasize that the choice is not simply between what is useful and desirable; it is choice as to whether we will preserve our freedoms or not, whether we will allow our society to grow and expand and, in President Johnson's terms, whether we will become great or whether we will not.

Unfortunately, I see much that is wrong with educational systems. I see too many petty political quarrels; too great an inflexibility in the bureaucracy; too much unwillingness or fear to meet the challenges. There seems to be reluctance to request what is essential. It may be that the educational system needs something other than more money or more taxes or more teachers. It may need new powers, new instruments of control; perhaps powers that will allow schools to embrace the traditional welfare and social work functions. What I am saying is directed largely toward our urban communities. These communities *are not* deceived by pious rhetoric. They know—both black and white—that much of the source of tension comes from a school system that is perhaps too middle-class oriented; that is often influenced by a subtle, if not overt, philosophy of racism; and controlled and governed by white authority.

I do not believe, and my evidence is not conclusive, that educators today, particularly those operating at the highest levels of decision making, are attuned to the times. Too many educators are isolated or, more important, have isolated themselves from the mainstream of political and social responsibility. Their behavior is almost analogous to that of the United States Supreme Court in early New Deal days, when the court was apparently oblivious to the country's economic crisis.

The specified governmental arrangements to protect schools from corruption by taking schools out of the mainstream of political life have created a closed political system in which the educational elite has a heavy stake in maintaining the status quo in value and power.

Although we do not know in detail the extent to which such educational elites deflect efforts to solve the problems of urban education, we do know the *efforts have not been made*. Now these top officials in every community are suddenly confronted with angry minorities demanding better educational programs; dissatisfied teachers demanding a voice in decisions about their salaries and benefits and working conditions; and disgruntled taxpayers unable to understand why the burden should fall so heavily on them. Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and the entire State of Florida have been the scenes of mass walkouts. Some difficult obstacles lie ahead, particularly in the area of teacher negotiations. It is, to be trite, a brand new ball game, where the old styles and patterns of decision making are being set aside.

Issues in Education

Let us move away from mere generalities. Why is it possible to paint such a gloomy picture? Let us take some of the specific political issues in education and examine them closely.

First, a sign of the political isolation of public education, which is a source of tension and conflict today, can be seen when we look at "The Battle of Unions," namely NEA-affiliated organizations and the American Federation of Teachers. A recent study by an Oregon political scientist revealed that those most active in NEA-affiliated organizations tended to be: (a) women; (b) from smaller towns (originally); (c) who teach in smaller towns; (d) who show great antipathy to forms of political activity which are at all "controversial." Those who tend to participate least in NEA-affiliated organizations tend to be: (a) male; (b) from urban areas; (c) teaching in urban schools; (d) who evidence a willingness to participate and take stands in controversial politics.

The conflict between teachers organizations, then, symbolizes on a smaller scale, the results of political isolation and the ideology that "schools shouldn't get involved in politics." Teachers most strongly supportive of that ideology tend to be unequivocal supporters of the status quo. To them politics appears personally and professionally threatening, therefore, they cling to the notion that the public school system as a whole—teachers, administrators, school board members—has a common interest to protect. When outside and controversial political threats appear, the response is to drive the wagons in a circle to ward off the danger. This in turn creates more tension, which in turn creates an even greater adherence to the status quo. Those members of the teaching profession who are attuned to contemporary political controversy, who do see conflict within the public school system, who realize the need for an adjustment of ideology and for a political solution to conflict, have tended to join teachers unions or have attempted to transform professional organizations into teachers unions. This struggle between the two groups, regardless of its merits, is symptomatic of the erosion of traditional public school ideology, professionalism, and decision making.

Second, federal aid to education. For years the various interests in education have argued that the state and local tax base was inadequate, that more money was needed, and that the federal government was the only conceivable source of the needed new income. Under President Johnson, the scope and nature of federal aid underwent a fantastic change.

At a conference on vocational education in Columbus, Ohio, a short time ago, I noted that the recent growth in the variety and scope of federal programs affecting just state educational agencies is still largely unrecognized, even by generally informed observers. I pointed out there that, between fiscal year 1961 and fiscal year 1966, the total financing for state-administered programs nearly quadrupled. The 1968 figure represented an increase of approximately $4.5 billion.

These figures really do not reflect the nature of development at the federal level. Actually, the federal government has entered a period when it has specific educational goals that it is attempting to achieve or implement, either through the existing educational structures or through the creation of new educational, organizational entities. The new programs extend far beyond the earlier federal educational commitments in which the three largest federal programs were surplus property, school lunches, and special milk—which are obviously only indirectly related to educational goals. The new programs include such basic educational components as programs for books and materials, student support, teaching equipment, and provisions for training personnel. At the recent conference on vocational education, I noted that:

> . . . among them are the Higher Educational Facilities Construction Program, activities under Sections 211 and 214 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act, the 1963 Vocational Education Enactment, the Arts and Humanities Teaching Equipment Program, and the equipment grants programs under Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the student loan programs under that Act and under the National

Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act and Titles I and II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965.

The burgeoning activities of the U. S. Office of Education have not been greeted with wild enthusiasm, however, by school administrators. At a recent conference of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City, a number of them vigorously criticized the U. S. Office of Education for imposing its policies and its views upon the administration of schools at the local level. John B. Davis, Jr., Superintendent of the Minneapolis school system, summarized their complaints by saying that the superintendents throughout the nation are "vexed, irritated, and exercised over the aid they fought to get." One complaint was that the practice of providing aid on a categorical basis is said to infringe upon the local autonomy of the schools in order to achieve certain broad national goals, such as educating the children of the poor or training new scientists. The school administrators indicated that they preferred to have the money without any strings attached because the needs of the local school systems differ widely among the fifty states.

Denver's superintendent, Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, in a panel discussion, argued strenuously for some form of tax sharing, perhaps similar to that proposed by Walter Heller a few years ago. In partial response to this development, the Office of Education has indicated that it intends to decentralize a number of its functions by the creation of several regional offices which will be able to make certain allocations based upon local needs. The school administrators were also apprehensive of this development, noting that, in their opinion, it would just be the imposition of another level of authority. Moreover, they said that the nine officers probably would not have any power to act without Washington's approval.

Another complaint was termed the so-called "Paper Blizzard." Massachusetts Education Commissioner Owen Kiernan stated that federal aid "produced cumbersome paper work, delays, standards below those of the states, arbitrary funding and cutoff dates, and the attitude of 'spend it; we can improve the program next year.' "

Other criticisms included the bypassing of the states under such programs as the National Teacher Corps and Supplementary Education Centers which tend to ignore state administrative agencies; the difficulty in getting Congress to appropriate money until the last minute, which often makes advance planning very difficult; failure to provide money for planning or to offset the schools' costs when they attempt to take on additional programs such as helping poor children; lack of federal coordination, saying especially that the Office of Education duplicates the work being performed under the anti-poverty programs; and, finally, a general failure on the part of the Office of Education to consult broadly enough among the superintendents about new federal education programs.

Despite all of these arguments, and they are not without merit, the idea of *general federal aid* should, in my opinion, be *rejected* for the following reasons:

First, categorical aid, in my opinion, makes it possible to identify national problems; to encourage and promote higher national standards; to take advantage of specialized research, and to see that it receives proper analysis; to set and implement national educational goals.

Perhaps even more important, various forms of categorical aid can be used as instruments to circumvent local biases; to convince local authorities of the merits of new ideas; to offset or prevent the perpetuation of excessive parochialism.

Categorical aid, I believe, is a step in these directions without dealing a lethal blow to local autonomy. To be sure, federal authorities must be watched; categorical programs need periodic reexamination (perhaps this would be an important task for the Conant-sponsored Compact on Education); and specialized local needs and problems must be recognized and understood.

Second, and I do not believe too much needs to be said on this, general aid would make money available for teachers' salaries. Under present programs it has been possible to provide specialized aid to parochial schools—which, let's face it, relieves much of the burden on public education. The First Amendment, I believe, would not allow federal money to be used for teacher or administrative salaries in parochial schools. General aid would involve the thorny problem of separation of Church and State.

Finally, I think we would reach the height of political irresponsibility to ask members of the United States Congress to vote for tax monies and then indiscriminately turn those revenues back for whatever purpose the educational system desires. Further, general federal aid may promote local irresponsibility, resulting in too great a reliance on federal funds and insufficient attention to raising local revenues. General federal aid at this time might delay further the much needed revision of state and local educational tax structures.

Federal aid, however, can be a positive benefit, and if properly conceived politically it can become a vital link in the educational system. On the basis of a recent examination of the Community Action Agencies sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, I am convinced that these agencies can have a healthy impact on our educational system. Our survey of the interrelationship of Community Action Agencies with public school systems was based on six case studies in urban centers throughout the United States. They were: Cincinnati, Ohio; Columbia, South Carolina; Corpus Christi, Texas; Durham, North Carolina; Oakland, California; and Trenton, New Jersey.

Community Action Agencies

I would like to report the major findings of that survey, which has just been completed:

1. Although Community Action Agencies (CAA's) have not been innovators of dramatic change within the school systems, they have definitely had some indirect, more subjective effects on the attitudes and policies of school officials. Despite the pitifully small amounts of money involved, less than two percent of the total operating budget in each of the school districts, local CAA's have played an important role in directing school officials' attention to the poor. What might be termed a new "community attitude" toward poverty and education has emerged.

Certainly the poverty program is at least in part responsible for new attitudes toward the *meaning* of education as it applies to the poor. School officials no longer consider it their main task simply to impart basic information to well-scrubbed, pre-college students. The relationship between the educational system, modern technological needs, unemployment, and underemployment is perhaps more accurately perceived than before. Schoolmen are expected to do more than lament the dropout rate. They are beginning to react to demands that they look carefully beyond their own separate domain to see not only the problems of the whole society but their role in the search for solutions.

In some cities, such as Trenton, which has substantially more Head Start money invested than the others in this survey, the new attitudes are quite well developed. There, an effort has been made at curriculum redevelopment to make education more relevant to those who will soon be seeking employment in a technical society. Efforts to keep potential dropouts in school have been strengthened. Other programs have been aimed at remedial education and special tutoring; still others, notably Trenton's "Action Bound," have developed new ways of bridging the social and cultural gap between ghetto students and their middle-class counterparts.

In the other cities, changes in educational attitudes are not quite so remarkable, but there is evidence of at least some change. Schools in Corpus Christi have largely redesigned their vocational training and guidance curricula to benefit the poor. In Cincinnati, members of both board and staff along with civic leaders played a significant role in the continuation of the School Community Centers, even though the Office of Economic Opportunity was to supply no more funds. Perhaps of greater importance, the CAA's role extended to the civic leadership—a group which has played a vital part in school policy formation. In Cincinnati, however, there was no immediate change. Even after OEO programs were firmly established, the school system was willing to abolish them or to use them for its own special purposes. Yet, the inescapable fact remains that the programs were continued by the school system, despite the termination of OEO support, largely at the insistence of civic leadership. In short, CAA's have played a part in changing not only educational attitudes, but civic attitudes as well. These changing attitudes often have the effect of putting new pressures for change on the educational system.

Even such essentially conservative urban communities as Columbia and Durham have begun—perhaps only barely begun—to view the relationship of education and poverty in a different light. In Columbia, the acceptance of federal aid for Head Start, despite a good deal of controversy and difficulty in administration, is, in itself, something of a victory in the war on poverty. In fact, if the pervasive influence of local biases is taken into strict account, the mere acceptance of any CAA program is a remarkable achievement in such areas. Fear of the "Feds" and deep resentment of the alleged preoccupation with integration displayed by all federal agencies are very real and crucial considerations in these cities. *Gradualism* has to be the key to an understanding of developments in Columbia and Durham. Any evidence of change merits acknowledgement, even though the snail-paced progress is not impressive to those looking for signs of immediate action and early results.

2. Community Action Agencies have, in certain local circumstances, been useful instruments for school officials already involved in changing educational policy. In brief, they have been convenient tools for those who were *predisposed* to do things differently than

before. A direct and clear-cut example of this is found in Corpus Christi, where a new school administration, already determined to improve its offerings, seized upon the CAA and its programs as one means to accomplish its goal. Intent on obtaining a new source of funds, the school administration became actively involved in the CAA's creation and program development. Within the limitations of public education in that area, OEO-sponsored programs were made a part of the school system. No CAA staff was, however, involved in the changes, and beyond the provision of funds and an "umbrella" for the undertaking, little direct contribution to actual changes in educational policy can be attributed to the CAA. Any changes which took place were generated by and within the public school system; the CAA served largely as a transmission belt.

As in Corpus Christi, Trenton school officials were predisposed to change and the CAA provided additional impetus and financial support for a system badly in need of outside funds. Although what has transpired tends to suggest the same general point, that CAA's can be useful instruments of change, given the proper local circumstances, the situation in the two cities, Trenton and Corpus Christi, was not wholly analogous. For in Trenton the CAA has been described as a catalyst; some even went so far as to say that, without the CAA, major innovation would have been next to impossible.

The analogy with Corpus Christi also breaks down when one examines the interrelations in Trenton and the CAA, the city political system, and the educational system itself. Trenton shared with all the other areas the problems of unemployment, widespread pockets of poverty, and low median education. Yet, the Trenton CAA developed fourteen separate programs dealing primarily with education, compared with about one to five programs in the other areas. Moreover, the CAA and its staff touched the decision-making apparatus of the public schools at various times, at significant points, and at the highest levels. It would seem highly relevant, therefore, to determine what local circumstances developed to make the Trenton CAA's impact so significantly different from that of the other areas studied.

The first of these might be called the personality variable. One cannot overlook in Trenton the active, continuous interest and participation on the part of specific individuals from the school board and staff, the city administration, and the CAA staff. These were top-level people who had direct decision-making authority. All were personally committed to changing the attitudes of the educational system toward the poor. Unquestionably, without their direct involvement and cooperation, a substantially different situation would have emerged.

Personality variables, however, cannot account for all the differences between Trenton and the other cities studied. Trenton and its schools were ripe for change, whatever its source. The "Case City" episode, in which Trenton, though unnamed, was labeled a decadent city, shook all foundations. Leadership from quarters that were indifferent or even hostile to the poverty program in other areas was activated to repair the city image. Finally, the failure of tax proposals and the new demands being made on the school district made the federal "carrot," no matter what agency offered it, an attractive proposition.

To say all this is not to dismiss the importance of the CAA itself. It did have an active education committee; it did commit funds for a staff to work with the public schools; it did actively seek to participate in program formulation as well as execution. The CAA, however, had the advantage, unique among the cities studied, of a school system open to and even inviting CAA involvement and willing to share authority. The Trenton CAA also had public and private leadership support from the city as a whole. Trenton, indeed, exemplifies a fact commonly forgotten by many students of intergovernmental relations: It is not so much the impact of federal programs and agencies on local systems that requires attention as it is the impact of local institutions, personalities, and priorities on federal programs.

3. To the extent that CAA's are willing or able to use neighborhood organizations to generate demands from the poor, particularly the Negro, on the school system, they are a potential source of real change in the decision-making structure. The civil rights movement, federal aid to education, and the war on poverty are closely intertwined. Negroes in Cincinnati and Durham have attempted to implement overall civil rights goals through both antipoverty and educational programs. Experience in those cities suggests that in the long run the extent of impact depends upon how quickly and by what means the poor are able to convince educational community and political leaders that education, poverty, and race must be treated as related issues.

Although of the six cities studied, only the Cincinnati CAA has begun to generate a viable political force capable of pressing new demands on school officials, rudimentary demand systems are being built in other areas. In Durham, political action has been employed as a favored strategy by the CAA and its offshoot, the United Organization for Community Improvement. There, however, the efforts have met with resistance sufficient to draw fire from national officials and congressmen and little positive or demonstrable change in education policy has been accomplished. Target area groups in Oakland have also shown interest in political action, although they have not had support from the CAA Board.

The severest limitation to effective political action on the part of CAA neighborhood organizations is the persistent tendency of CAA's to seek legitimization in the community. Most CAA's were designed by community leaders to fit within community structures and biases. Community acceptance is a conscious goal of many of them. Moreover, CAA boards have a tendency to accept the limitations, generally unspoken, of the community political context.

Many issues are never even raised simply because all those connected with the CAA are convinced that to do so or to put them into motion, would jeopardize any hope of improvement in the community situation. The strategy has been to shelter the CAA's and make them immune from criticism—a strategy justified on the grounds that community acceptance was necessary *before* a more active role could be undertaken. "The dominant values, the accepted rules of the game, the existing power relative to relations among groups . . . effectively prevent certain grievances from developing into full-fledged issues." [1] In the case of Community Action Agencies, many of these issues center on active demands by "grassroots" organizations on any established agency—including the school system. In concrete cases, the CAA's have tended to allow the school systems to dictate their own terms rather than allow other forces to intervene.

I would close on the positive side and make the following recommendations:

1. A definite and continuing policy within the entire Office of Economic Opportunity giving education programs high priority at every level should be developed.

2. A clear national priority in favor of education programs and CAA involvement in educational decision making should be developed. This will have no significant meaning unless substantially greater amounts of money are devoted to education programs.

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[1] Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz. "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework." In: *American Political Science Review* 57(3): 641; September 1963.

3. Steps need to be taken to ensure that any increased resources will be effectively used at the local level. These steps should be designed to ensure not only improved program content, but also increased CAA participation in educational decision making. Suggestions along this line are the following:

a. CAA's should have as a permanent part of their organization a professionally trained education staff. This is not generally the case at present. These individuals, compensated at a rate commensurate with those employed in professional jobs in other fields, should be capable, making use of training in a variety of fields, of working with the public school administrators on a continuing basis in the design, implementation, and evaluation of education programs for the poor. It is assumed that such a staff would be in an excellent position to overcome some of the educator's prejudices against the nonprofessional. Moreover, an education staff at the local level would be able to serve as a liaison not only with the school system, but with the regional and national offices of the OEO as decisions from these sources touch on educational programs or policy. This last function is badly needed in some areas.

b. Provision needs to be made to absorb the administrative costs to school systems of CAA-sponsored educational components. A primary complaint of harassed top educational officials, working within limited personnel budgets, is not the content of the CAA components, but the time and paper work involved both in securing the grants and in administering the programs. In some cases the public school contribution can be absorbed by "in-kind matching," but in other proposals this is not allowed. What is needed is a firm policy with respect to the limitations of pre-program administrative costs, such as "in-kind matching," and some allowance for administrative costs above and beyond direct program operation.

c. If planning, staffing, and operation are to proceed in an orderly, regular sequence, the apparently prevalent practice of late funding of approved programs should be discontinued immediately.

d. While it is recognized that even under the best of circumstances program evaluation is difficult, and that frequently time and money limitations make such evaluation next to impossible, the failure to conduct evaluation studies on the local level affects the decision-making process in at least two adverse ways. One, it virtually eliminates the determination of whether resources are commensurate with needs, i.e., if staff and money allocations are sufficient when compared with the size of the overall poverty problem. And, two, lack of program evaluation means that future planning is done in the dark without any knowledge of the efficacy of present undertakings.

e. Finally, the formation of education committees, based on the Trenton, Cincinnati, and Oakland models in this study, would in some measure provide the school systems and the CAA's with a vital link with other city organizations and with the target areas. Planning for educational attacks on poverty must not be isolated from the whole problem of poverty and the political and social context in which it exists locally. CAA education committees, although they may well be merely *pro forma* in many areas where they are now in operation, provide a potentially effective means of tying the educational decision-making structure to the community at large.

4. Educational components of the war on poverty should remain under the auspices of the OEO and the local CAA, rather than being transferred directly to the public school systems at either the local or state level or to the U. S. Office of Education.

5. Once a national priority for education is established, the Office of Economic Opportunity should not consistently insist on uniform methods of operation in every community.

6. Public school systems should establish on a permanent basis a special studies division or unit to deal directly and exclusively with educational problems of the economically disadvantaged.

I suggest CAA's as only one means of opening up the school system. Doubtless there are many other steps. There will be, however, those who will say that we cannot correct *all* the inadequacies of the past. There will be those who say the future is dim unless we are given all the resources we ask. But, let no one say we have not tried. Let no one say we refused to take the first steps.

Authoritarianism and the Phenomena of Rebellion

Jack R. Frymier

AUTHORITARIANISM and rebellion go hand in hand. They always have, and they always will. Authoritarianism breeds rebellion, and rebellion sows the seeds for more authoritarianism. Conceptually these are interesting—even fascinating—ideas, but operationally they are frightening in the way they feed upon each other and nourish the worst kind of human behavior.

My interest in authoritarianism and rebellion really grows out of my abiding interest in the concept and practice of freedom. From the earliest time that I can remember freedom has been important to me. My father was a business man and salesman, and though he never went to college, in my earliest days I learned that he liked history and read widely in this field throughout his life. Because my mother used to tell me that my dad was something of a scholar in his own way, I grew up with a yearning to learn about the area of history.

Furthermore, our home was a hotbed of ideas almost all of the time. My father's parents and the rest of his family were staunch Republicans, of the very first order. My own parents, on the other hand, were Democrats with a capital " D." I can recall during the Hoover-Roosevelt campaign in 1932 that I went to visit my grandparents one time with a "Roosevelt" button on my shirt and was almost disowned. My grandparents and aunts and uncles on my father's side were absolutely certain that if Roosevelt were elected that year, tyranny and dictatorship would unquestionably appear. The fact is, feelings ran so strong during those depression years that we children were more than once caught in the tangle of emotions and words of our own kin.

Throughout it all my mother and father fought to preserve a kind of intellectual freedom in our house, where ideas were welcomed and talked about and argued through, with never a hint about what we children ought to think or say. If I wanted to adopt and argue any point of view, that was quite all right. All I had to do was accumulate my facts and present my case, and in the verbal turmoil which was sure to follow I learned that men can disagree and still love one another, in a very special way.

That way, I came to learn, was predicated upon and encouraged by what we call "freedom." Other men have other names, but I learned early in my youth that freedom was something very special and worth preserving which fostered extensive discussion and maximum consideration of any point of view, but always in an atmosphere and in a way which underscored the worth and dignity of any persons who were involved.

Later, World War II came along and I marched off with an M-1 rifle across my back. Soldiering is a strange and disturbing and even funny life, in many ways. The old joke about "hurry up and wait" certainly characterized my time in uniform, and though the "hurry up" sessions were many and varied and mostly unpleasant, the "waiting times" were quite another story indeed. I can recall crossing the English Channel on an LST, for example, quite some time after D-Day, but the hours "alone" on the crowded bow I still treasure today. I thought about the war and asked myself why all the killing and maiming were under way. I wondered where I would go and what would follow and if anything would ever make sense again. I thought about America and what it meant to me. And I thought about freedom, life, and liberty.

Later, after a brief sojourn along that line where Allies and Germans stood toe to toe and pounded away, I heard that President Roosevelt had died. Later we piled the German guns up high, and the war was done. In the shuffling here and there in those first weeks after the war in Europe came to an end, again I found the waiting times while some of the other boys went home.

During redeployment I chanced to be assigned to an ordnance unit outside Etain, France, and because this was not far from Metz and Verdun, I pursued my own interests in history by excursions through the local countryside. Have you ever visited that World War I battlefield outside Verdun where the crosses range in rows every way as far as the eye can see? There is a building there—one long, low room—with a tall spire-like projection rising out of its frame as a monument to the many who gave their lives that freedom might be preserved. Outside the building, along the eastern end of that strange room, there is a spot where French bayonets can be seen sticking up through the ground, the men who held them buried where they lay by German artillery. Inside the building is an eerie red glow. All the windows are red, and though the place serves as a museum of sorts with equipment and guns of World War I days, one is constantly reminded by the dull red glow that this is a spot where men have died and where they lie.

If you walk outside and around this strange place you realize there is a basement of sorts, with little basement windows all around the bottom of the structure. And if you look inside do you know what you will see? The bones of men. Skeletons, piled I know not how high, but completely filling that basement from end to end, and coming clear up to the windows through which you gaze. There lie the remains of thousands of men who gave their all in World War I to preserve freedom and " the democratic way."

Freedom is important to me. I believe in it. I have fought for it. I have seen men die for the right to keep the idea of freedom bright and clear and to help light other men's way. Freedom is not something I talk about lightly. It represents the essence of a full life and rich existence to me, and those who know me well know that if my personal or professional welfare is threatened by encroachments upon my freedom, there is no question about what I have to do. Freedom rules the day. I may be wrong, but if I can help it, I will never be un-free.

Against this background, then, this paper is written. In my judgment, if freedom is worth fighting for and dying for, it is most certainly worth practicing in schools each day. And I for one have no illusions that we can develop free people by enslaving them while they are young. Nor do I feel that we can teach youngsters to be free if their mentors are not free or if they serve within a system which coerces and restrains. A study of authoritarianism and rebellion may be one place to begin.

Rebellion and authoritarianism are manifestations of behavior which we have to understand. Hippies, teacher strikes, LSD, riots, draft card burnings—these are phenomena which seem to abound in our society today. The times are disconcerting. The magazine articles, television programs, and newspaper stories about such activities, for example, number in the hundreds in the past few months alone. Whether the frequency of protest movements and outright rebellion is a function of the population increase or limited personal perspective or some other factor is hard to know. Some experts maintain that the number of rebellion-type incidents is lower today than during World War I or a hundred years ago during the Civil War, but we have no direct experience with which to verify the point. Like all men, we are both creators and prisoners of our own experience, and from our personal perspective it often seems as though the demonstrations and protest movements are far more numerous and far more serious than we at least have ever known before. Reports by thoughtful scholars that the nation may be facing its most serious test since the wrenching strains of the Civil War, therefore, confirm our fears that these are very troublesome times. And so the reality of rebellion and the fear of chaos and anarchy come back to haunt us again. Our social fabric is tough and bending, but these times seem especially disturbing—even frightening—because of the way men relate to one another in Vietnam and in the ghetto and at the bargaining table.

The purpose of this paper will be to describe the reality of rebellion and the forces which create it, as I understand the factors which are involved.

The Basic Elements of Rebellion

If conditions are such that there is an unequal distribution of power and/or material goods and/or social acceptance, and if this leads to perceived aggression along with an apparent reluctance of the power group to make decisions based upon fact, such conditions will lead to frustration and negative feelings toward other persons which, in the presence of encouragement and opportunity, will result in rebellion.

Conceptual Model: Such a description of rebellion posits four specifics: a *controlling* (powerful) person or group; a *controlled* (powerless) person or group; a *relationship* between these two; all of which occurs in some kind of *context*. Described graphically, we have:

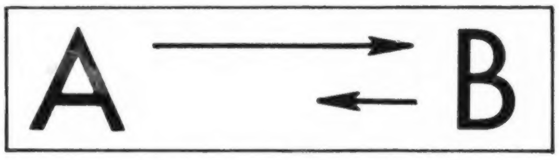

Figure 1

"A" represents the controlling person or group, "B" represents the controlled person or group, "⇄" represents the relationship between the two, and the "box" portrays the context in which this relationship occurs. Said another way, the basic elements of rebellion include participants (controlling and controlled) relating to each other within some situational context or system. Furthermore, it is the nature of the relationship which determines whether rebellion or love or barter exists. In other words, what we have described here is a basic picture of a social enterprise: a sociological construct, if you please.

For the purpose of exploring the relationship of authoritarianism to the phenomena of rebellion, we can postulate three additional things. Let us assume, for the time being at least, that we can think about and describe authoritarian and non-authoritarian participants, authoritarian and non-authoritarian social systems or contexts, and the relationship between the participants in a uni-dimensional form. If we think this way, we can portray the participant and context dimensions as authoritarian or democratic and the relationship as a rebellion—non-rebellion dimension. Employing such theoretical notions permits us to approach the concepts of "authoritarianism" and "rebellion" within a larger and more meaningful framework.

In the discussion which follows, the continuum is assumed to be a valid conceptual representation of the realities which are involved. This may not be correct. "Authoritarian" and "democratic" ("non-authoritarian") may not be conceptual opposites as the continuum implies, but because our language forces our thought processes that way (e.g., synonyms and antonyms) and because most of the research which has been accomplished in this area presumed the continuum conceptually and operationally, such an assumption will be used here, too. The discussion which follows, therefore, will portray extremes, but it is the continuum as a dimension rather than the categorical extremes which is important. Theoretically, we need to think in terms of points along the continuum as possibilities rather than categorical differences, even though the examples and logic may suggest otherwise.

Participants: During the past thirty years a number of social scientists and observers of the contemporary social scene have set forth descriptions of personality, motivation, and behavior which presumed the authoritarian-democratic frame of reference. Sometimes other terminology has been employed (e.g., "becoming," "adequate-inadequate," "stasis-process," "open-closed," etc.), but the basic ideas are very similar though not precisely the same. This research has been reviewed in several places, but stems primarily from the writings of Fromm, Maslow, Adorno, Rokeach, Combs and Snygg, Allport, Rogers, and others.

Man is a total being, and his behavior is a total way of receiving and interpreting and reacting to the stimuli which impinge upon him all the time. Described in the following paragraphs are five different yet related aspects of behavior. All of the evidence indicates consistently and forcefully that it is the pattern of behaviors with which we must be concerned if we ever hope to understand authoritarianism and what makes some men rebel.

First, and probably foremost, people who are authoritarian are less *perceptive* than their non-authoritarian or democratic counterparts on the continuum we have defined. Democratic persons have more perceptions, quantitatively, and they are more accurate in their perceptual processes, too. People who are authoritarian are less accurate in what they perceive, they have fewer perceptions, they distort reality more, and they have more elaborate defense mechanisms. In addition, people who are authoritarian are also less tolerant of ambiguity and uncertainty; they see things in black and white terms—this or that, right or wrong, good or bad—and not in the shades of gray which generally prevail.

Second, and obviously related to the perceptive aspect of their behavioral styles, democratic persons are more skillful and more effective in *communicative* activities, too. They say things in such a way that their ideas "get through." Using phrases and tones and words which do not elicit defensive reactions on the part of those they communicate to, non-authoritarians work at the business of sharing ideas and concerns so they can be understood. Being agreed with is much less important to these people than being heard. Democratic people also recognize that they have a major responsibility to fulfill in order to profit by what other people have to say. They tend not to judge ideas according to source, as the authoritarian does, but according to the logic and internal validity of the ideas, regardless of who professes them or how they are said.

Intuitively or otherwise, democratic people seem to realize that a listener has a thought-speed advantage over a speaker—people talk about 125 words per minute, while people think at the rate of 500 to 1,000 words during the same period of time—and they put that advantage which they have to serve good ends. Authoritarian persons, on the other hand, tend to "tune the other man out" if they do not like his speaking or writing style or the way he ties his tie or pronounces his "r's." The authoritarian fails to recognize that men are built out of what they perceive; thus they tend to deny to themselves the very psychological substance they need to flourish and grow. This is not aways conscious or deliberate, of course, but they still behave that way. And even though some authoritarians (e.g., demagogues) appear to be skillful at communicating, careful observation suggests that their basic intent is to miscommunicate or even lie. Hitler's "big lie" idea represents one such example of an authoritarian's deliberate efforts to misinform and deceive.

Third, democratic persons have a different self-image than those who are authoritarian. A *positive self-concept* is characteristic of a man who is democratic. He feels that he is important and that he is worthwhile. He feels that his ideas count, that he is wanted, and that he does in fact belong. Those persons who are authoritarian, however, tend to hold less positive views about themselves. They are less secure, less adequate, more afraid, and continuously confronted with an image of themselves which is negative in feeling tone.

Fourth, there are also major differences in the way democratic and authoritarian people view other persons, too. Democratic persons tend to have *positive views of other people* in almost every way. They do not believe that other people are out to do them harm; they do not feel that other persons are either better than or worse than they are in various ways. Authoritarians, however, are perpetually concerned about themselves and others. They need continuous reassurance that the world is not a jungle and that not everyone behaves in a "dog-eat-dog" way. Authoritarians are basically distrustful and suspicious. They have, in the main, a negative concept of others.

Finally, how he sees himself and others results in what might be called a truly *independent* way of behaving for persons who are democratic. As the term is used here, independence involves giving and taking full measure with other men, but neither dominating nor submitting as authoritarians tend to do. The authoritarian is actually quite dependent upon others in a sadistic or masochistic way. He needs other people in the worst sense of that term—to use or to be used by. Unable to relate to other persons as different but worthwhile and free, the authoritarian builds relationships with other men which reflect an essentially negative view of self and others. For example, he may function according to the "pecking order" concept which some researchers have used to portray social relations among pigeons and other birds—those who are below him he dominates, while to those above he bends the other way. Democratic persons are independent in a way which allows them to give other men their due, but still retain their own integrity and dignity in their associations with the many or the few.

These five aspects of human behavior might be described graphically as follows:

Perceptive	________	Imperceptive
Communicative	________	Uncommunicative
Positive Self	________	Negative Self
Positive Others	________	Negative Others
Independent	________	Dependent.

The research suggests clearly that these aspects of behavior are interrelated in the sense that people tend in one direction on all of the continua, or in the other direction, or fall somewhere in between. In other words, everything that we know implies behavioral patterns in which some persons tend toward the democratic end of each continuum, others tend toward the authoritarian end of each continuum, or they are in the middle range. Theoretically, at least, we would not expect to find people who are maximally perceptive and independent who possess a negative view of self and a negative view of others.

Further, there is also reason to believe that democratic behavior is actually life-giving and growth-oriented, whereas authoritarianism moves in the direction of death itself. Gossip, for example, which represents an authoritarian-type communication device, is designed to drive little wedges between people and cause them to have less confidence and trust in other beings. Such an activity can only result in changes in human relationships which are less positive and less harmonious, and thus counter the homeostasis or integrating aspects of the life process itself. Democratic persons seek to bring men together rather than drive them apart. They live and work in productive, helping, life-giving ways.

Allport's theory of prejudice, for example, represents one half of the "concept of others" continuum which has been outlined here. Allport postulates five levels of rejective behavior:

_______ Antilocution

_______ Avoidance
_______ Discrimination
_______ Physical Attack
_______ Extermination (Destruction).

If we attempted to generate a five-point scale for the other portion of the continuum which describes the "concept of others," it might look something like this, beginning at the middle of the continuum again:

_______ Prolocution
_______ Seeking
_______ Acceptance
_______ Physical Embrace
_______ Sexual Intercourse (Conception).

In this one instance we can see clearly that, carried to its logical extreme, the democratic end of the "concept of others" continuum is life creating and life supporting, while the authoritarian end of the continuum is negating and life destroying.

Let us go back now to our original conceptual model and relate the discussion of authoritarian and democratic behavior to participants who are relating in some kind of formal context such as was described before:

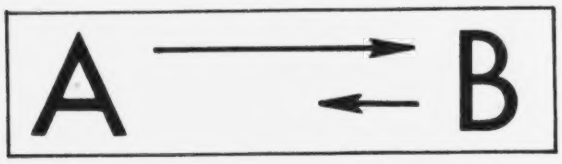

Figure 1

The uneven length of the two arrows here is intended to portray a differential in the relationship which exists between "A" and "B." Obviously we could draw the diagram so that equalitarian relationships were implied, but this discussion relates to authoritarianism and rebellion, and the original conceptualization presumed "unequal distribution of power and/or material goods and/or social acceptance."

In other words, for rebellion to occur, the theory being outlined here necessitates differences in the amount of power which each person or each group ("A" and "B") can exert over the other. Much of life involves relationships such as have been outlined here: employer-employee; parent-child; Senate-Senate committee; pilot-passenger; school board-superintendent; sergeant-private; principal-teacher; policeman-criminal; physician-patient; and the like. In each instance it is apparent that one person or one group possesses more power and could be more controlling than the other person or the other group involved.

For one person or one group to be considered *powerful* rather than *powerless*, and *controlling* rather than *controlled*, differences in any one or several of the following factors probably exist: age, strength, competence, money, tradition, or vested authority. At least up to a certain point, the old generally control the young. Likewise the strong generally control the weak, the competent exercise influence and power over the less competent, while those with greater resources or vested authority or tradition-imposed powers are able to exert power over those who possess fewer financial resources or are without legal authority or without that which customs and mores decree are appropriate power roles. Thus, in a particular situation we would expect the airplane pilot to be recognized as possessing control and power over his passengers, just as the surgeon has power over his patient or the priest has influence and control over his parishioner.

Given this kind of analysis, we can now theorize regarding the possible variations which might exist in the relationship between "A" and "B." Four combinations[1] seem possible:

Powerful		*Powerless*
1. Authoritarian "A"	________	Authoritarian "B"
2. Authoritarian "A"	________	Democratic "B"
3. Democratic "A"	________	Authoritarian "B"
4. Democratic "A"	________	Democratic "B."

Returning to the earlier discusion, we are now in a position to speculate what kind of behavior might ensue in each of four different relationships which might theoretically exist between participants in any context. Before we carry such speculations forward, though, perhaps we should explore the possibility that the context or system in which these relationships might occur could be democratic or authoritarian.

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[1] This conceptualization presumes "categories" of behavior (i.e., "authoritarian" and "democratic"), but our previous discussion implied gradations along a continuum. The gradations correspond to reality, but for purposes of discussion now and later we will utilize the concept of categorical behavior, recognizing that it is a research and conceptual tool rather than "the way things really are." Hopefully such intellectual machinations will enable us to be more insightful regarding the reality, but in any case, the step has been made with full knowledge that it represents a violation of one of the basic concepts which has been outlined here.

Context: In this paper, the word "context" refers to the "institution" or "social system" which is formally involved as a framework or larger setting for the kind of relationships we have been describing above. In other words, a context is a social system. Every social system represents a human undertaking designed to fulfill human needs. Government, science, industry, education—these are all illustrations of different kinds of social systems or contexts in evidence today. Looked at in terms of systems theory, every social system reflects three phases of operation which accomplish separate functions, and these functions enable the system to maintain itself and, in a democratic context, to improve.

Phase one includes the intellectual activities, the planning, policy making, hypothesizing function. Phase two involves the doing, accomplishing, effecting function. Phase three reflects the evaluating, assessing, judgmental function. Taken together these functions represent various aspects of social undertakings which allow the system to accomplish the objectives toward which it is aimed, and at the same time to keep changing for the better.

These three phases of any social system are most clearly illustrated in our concept of government. The planning phase is represented by the legislative branch. The doing phase is represented by the executive branch. The evaluating or assessing phase is represented by the judicial branch. In industry, however, the model still holds. Somebody plans, somebody produces, and somebody judges the effectiveness of those activities in a realistic way.

Any careful study of democratic social systems suggests that these three functions have been made relatively discrete and that they are accomplished by different groups, each one of which has power. That is, the Congress is different from the President, and the Supreme Court is different still. The same notion holds at the state and local levels. From the functional standpoint, our system of government has been conceptualized in such a way that these different functions are accomplished by separate groups. In an authoritarian context, however, the planning and implementing and evaluating functions tend to be accomplished by the same individual or group of people.

Social systems depend upon the third phase of the operation to assure improvement and intelligent change. That is, when the courts in our country decide that a particular law is constitutional or unconstitutional or that a particular action by the President either is or is not appropriate, they feed back into the system new data which guarantee that the enterprise will be able to change itself and to improve. In industry the same thing is also true.

Planning and producing a new product or service represent the first and second phases of that social system in operation. Once the product goes on sale, however, evaluations occur. Judgments are made by those who buy. If the general public buys the product or service, what they really do is feed back into the system new data which tell those responsible that their plans were sound or their implementation activities effective, or both. On the other hand, if the buying public refuses to purchase the service or goods involved, what they do is say that there is something about the operation which is not satisfactory and it must be changed. In either event, evaluation plays the critical role of providing corrective feedback to the other parts of the system so that the entire operation can be improved. Those systems which are conceptualized in such a way that they have to pay attention to the feedback are democratic. Those systems which may or may not pay attention to the feedback, according to the wishes of those who are actually involved, are authoritarian in nature.

Two things are important about the discussion thus far. One is that the concept of corrective feedback, which is performed during the evaluation phase of the social systems operation, represents the precise point at which improvement and rational change can be assured. Second, in these illustrations it is also evident that the assessment or evaluation effort in a democratic context is best accomplished by a separate group which has appropriate influence of its own. Congress is not allowed to pass judgment on the constitutionality of its own laws, for example, nor are manufacturing companies permitted to have the ultimate say about the worthwhileness or value of the products they produce. These decisions are reserved for other groups.

In other words, feedback is imperative if the system is to operate at the highest possible level of effectiveness. At the same time, it is probably not possible to assume that those who plan or those who implement can also accomplish the evaluation role in a democratic system. The power of evaluation rests in part upon the nature of the feedback information which is generated by the process, but in part upon the fact that the evaluation group has an authority of its own. Said still another way, our system of government and our system of economics, at least, presume that when the evaluation group makes its decision known, the rest of the system will have to pay attention to the feedback. The rest of the system is not free to ignore the data, whether they are positive or negative in form.

In an authoritarian context, however, the only way that those who are affected by the operation can make their wishes known is by physical violence or rebellion since there is no adequate mechanism within the system to ensure that the evaluative data will be used by those who plan or implement in order to improve. In other words, the democratic system not only depends upon free access to information but it functions in such a way that the data must be utilized by the system—it has to change and to improve. The authoritarian system, on the other hand, not only discourages free access to information, it also functions in such a way that the people within the system use feedback data if they want to or ignore it if they so choose. Theoretically speaking, there is no mechanism within the system which rationally forces it to adapt and improve.

Can we identify variations in context which might be described as "authoritarian" or "democratic"? Is it possible that an *authoritarian context* can be differentiated from a *democratic context* with sufficient precision to enable us to study the phenomena of rebellion as they relate to authoritarianism? I think so. For instance, most persons would probably describe the context which we call "the United States Government" as *democratic* whereas there would also fairly generally be agreement that "the Trujillo dictatorship of the Dominican Republic" or "the Nazi regime" would be characterized as *authoritarian*. However, we can make inferences, too, from our descriptions of democratic and authoritarian behavior already given. From these inferences we should be able to generalize that specific contexts or social systems which function in such a way as to encourage the development and manifestation of democratic behaviors are probably democratic contexts, whereas those which impede the promotion of such behaviors or actually facilitate the development and acquisition of authoritarian behaviors are probably authoritarian contexts.

Perhaps it will be enough to say that those systems which are open rather than closed, which distribute authority according to function, and which encourage disagreement and dissent and utilize feedback to change and improve are democratic. Those which are closed rather than open, which consolidate authority rather than distribute and share it across various functions, and which discourage disagreement and criticism, and do not necessarily pay attention to feedback data as a means of changing and improving are authoritarian. If these notions make sense, perhaps we should shift our discussion now to a consideration of the "relationships" dimension of our problem in order to get at the rebellion phenomena.

Relationships: Rebellion is one type of relationship which sometimes exists between parties "A" and "B." Other kinds could undoubtedly be described. If we can identify the fundamental qualities and activities evidenced in different social contexts, a relationship continuum might be defined. For example, if we assume that *intentionality*, *rationality*, and *degree of physical violence present* are important aspects of relationships, we can conceptualize these qualities as follows:

Nonviolent	Violent
Altruistic	Egotistic
Rational	Irrational.

In this conceptualization what is implied is a way of thinking about relationships which tend toward nonviolence or which tend toward violence. In other words, life is assumed to be worthwhile. Those relationships which are violent tend toward life-destruction. Those which are nonviolent tend toward life-support. In the same way, those which are altruistic tend to be helpful to others and other-enhancing and selfless, whereas those which are egotistic tend toward being hurtful of others, self-enhancing, and selfish, in the main. Finally, those relationships which are rational are assumed to be more desirable than those which are irrational. Thoughtfulness, deliberateness, and considerateness are assumed to characterize relationships more positively than thoughtlessness, impulsiveness, and inconsiderateness, in other words.

Assuming that there is probably an inherent order of importance to these three qualities, we can arrange the various possible combinations in hierarchical fashion, thus generating a kind of relationship dimension or continuum. The most *violent, egotistic, irrational* relationship is probably "rebellion." The most *nonviolent, altruistic, rational* relationship must be described in more positive terms. The outline on page 71 hypothesizes what such a relationship continuum might be like.

1. Nonviolent	Altruistic	Rational
2. Nonviolent	Altruistic	Irrational
3. Nonviolent	Egotistic	Rational
4. Nonviolent	Egotistic	Irrational
5. Violent	Altruistic	Rational
6. Violent	Altruistic	Irrational
7. Violent	Egotistic	Rational
8. Violent	Egotistic	Irrational.

From top to bottom (i.e., from category 1 through 8) we have outlined a kind of *relationship continuum*. Interestingly, such a dimension also relates to the dynamics of change. In other words, those relationships which tend to be nonviolent, altruistic, and rational could be described as *humanistic relationships* which suggest deliberate, involuntary-type change. Those which are violent, egotistic, and irrational could be described as *anti-humanistic relationships* which suggest thoughtless, revolutionary, rebellious-type change.

Such a conceptual scheme does a severe disservice to each of the factors involved, in that not all degrees of rationality or intentionality or physicality can be portrayed. Keeping such ideas in mind, perhaps it would still be useful to attempt some kind of categorization of rebellion-type incidents which have appeared on the social scene in recent months. The following list is probably not representative, but does reflect at least some of the social reality in the United States today:

a. Garbage workers strike
b. Students "take a trip" with LSD
c. Riots in the ghettos of big cities
d. High school boys let hair grow long
e. College students "sit in" at administration building
f. Young men burn their draft cards publicly
g. Teachers resign en masse and stay away from schools
h. Professor grows a beard
i. Parents of children in ghetto school demand removal of principal
j. Catholic priest leads protest for open-housing law
k. Housewife becomes involved in "an affair" with another man
l. College students protest removal of trees from city campus
m. Teachers invoke sanctions against a school board

n. Negro leader threatens to prevent political convention in major city.

In one way or another, each of these examples involves a kind of rebellion or at least a reaction of the controlled against the controlling individual or group. We might attempt to categorize the various instances of rebellion according to the eight-category rationale outlined above. Such an approach is very logical, but may defy the realities which are involved. In other words, if *rationality* and *intentionality* and *degree of violence* are not the central aspects of relationships, then no amount of manipulation would create a conceptual scheme which would correspond to the realities. For purposes of illustration, however, let us carry this line of thought forward, recognizing that some such process might very well be useful in generating theory which could ultimately explain the complexities present in our dynamic social situation today.

The first example, "garbage workers strike," could probably be classified as *violent-egotistic-rational* (category 7) in the sense that it imposed extensive physical discomfort and danger to the residents of New York City, was aimed at serving the needs of the workers rather than the residents of the city, and was many weeks in developing and required an actual vote by the membership before the strike began.

"Taking a trip with LSD" would apparently be category 7 or 8, too. It is an intense physical experience which may be harmful, according to everything that we know now; it would probably be considered deliberate, in that the person must place the LSD cube in his mouth himself; and it most certainly is intended to satisfy the one who partakes in an egotistic way.

"Riots in the ghettos of Detroit" is undoubtedly category 8, whereas "high school boys let hair grow long" would probably have to be categorized 3 or 4. Such an act as letting one's hair grow long is certainly nonviolent. There is probably no rational reason for the act, and it only serves the needs of the one who lets his hair grow.

Toward a Theory of Human Relationships

Recognizing the limitations in this kind of thinking, let us proceed from this point to see if we can develop a theory of relationships.

The conceptual model which has given impetus to this entire discussion has been described before as

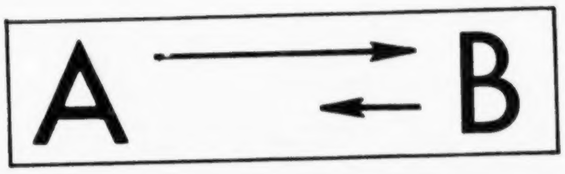

Figure 1

in which "A" exerts power or influence over "B" within a formal social system or context of some kind. Reconsidering the concepts of "authoritarian" and "democratic" as they were described for participants and for the context, we can now postulate eight various situations in which relationships could exist:

1.	Powerful Authoritarian	Context Authoritarian	Powerless Authoritarian
2.	Powerful Authoritarian	Context Authoritarian	Powerless Democratic
3.	Powerful Authoritarian	Context Democratic	Powerless Authoritarian
4.	Powerful Authoritarian	Context Democratic	Powerless Democratic
5.	Powerful Democratic	Context Authoritarian	Powerless Authoritarian
6.	Powerful Democratic	Context Authoritarian	Powerless Democratic
7.	Powerful Democratic	Context Democratic	Powerless Authoritarian
8.	Powerful Democratic	Context Democratic	Powerless Democratic.

Such a conceptual model as the one described here seems to suggest that different kinds of relationships would probably exist within each of the eight different situations outlined, and, knowing what we already know about human behavior within the framework of social institutions, we could probably hypothesize fairly accurately regarding these relationships.

For example, some persons would probably argue strongly that a type 4 situation outlined here—powerful authoritarians working in a democratic context with powerless persons who are democratic —aptly describes relationship "f" described earlier: "Young men burn their draft cards publicly." That is, the young men represent the powerless group who are democratic, our national government is the context which is democratic, but the men who implement the laws are considered powerful authoritarians. Other persons who perceived the same rebellious activity would undoubtedly want to make a different kind of categorization of the relationship.

The point is, with a better understanding of participants, context, relationships, and authoritarian and democratic behavior, we should be able to create a new kind of theory to explain the phenomena of rebellion. Perhaps the eight different relationships outlined earlier in this paper (e.g., nonviolent, altruistic, rational, etc.) have some empirical correlation with the eight situations described in this present section. This paper is a crude beginning. If it serves to encourage discussion about what authoritarianism means in the educational context or what we might do to change the system or the people within the system, it will have been worthwhile. With that thought in mind, let us turn briefly to a consideration of some of the implications which are implicit within this overall discussion.

Implications for Educational Leaders

Four different kinds of implications seem apparent in light of this entire rationale: we must consider changing the educational context or system; we must select democratic persons into the system and screen authoritarians out; we must work with the participants within the system (professionals and students) to help everybody learn to behave in democratic ways; and we have to rethink our programmatic considerations in light of these other implications. Each of these ideas is discussed very briefly below.

Can We Change the System? Looked at in terms of a social systems model such as has been outlined in this paper, the education context appears to have a conceptual flaw. Operating along the traditional "legal line of authority," educational institutions have not been able to separate authority according to function as effectively as some other social systems have. The net result is that governing boards pass judgment on the appropriateness and worthwhileness of their own policies. Professionals in education are also placed in the difficult position of assessing their own effectiveness. There is no formally conceptualized group charged with the responsibility of assessing the effectiveness of the educational endeavor, so we get a blurring of roles. Policy makers take off their policymaking hats and move into implementation and evaluation. Or, those whose primary responsibility is to implement policy moves into policy-making and evaluating roles. With no "clean" operational construct to lean against or tend toward, the ultimate result is a juxtapositioning of power groups. The intents of all groups are noble and sincere, but because the system is not a fully-functioning, democratic operation, difficulty and overlap develop.

The point of this discussion is to suggest that education tends in the direction of an authoritarian context. There is no separate group with power to insist that feedback data be utilized creatively and effectively to improve the system. "Advisory committees," for instance, are just that—advisory. School board members or professionals pay attention to the advice such groups provide or they do not, depending upon whatever other factors are present and demanding in the situation at the moment, regardless of their relevance. College students who are uncomfortable in their situations have been forced to conclude that there are really only three choices for them today: give in, get out, or revolt. Most students undoubtedly "knuckle under" and do as they are told. Some pick up and leave. A few strike back at the institutions in revolt.

Another illustration might be the way educators presume certain things about curriculum. That is, any thoughtful observer of the educational scene would probably be forced to conclude that we schoolmen postulate the effectiveness of certain courses or certain programs in our efforts to promote desirable student growth and change. Almost never do we attempt to prove, even to ourselves, that this content or that organizational scheme or some particular methodological approach helps students learn more, better, faster, or however the goals have been defined. We pay attention to the feedback data if we want to, or we do not pay attention to the data if we do not want to.

When those who are responsible for planning policy or effecting those plans also assume the evaluative role, the system is closed. It is an authoritarian context, in other words, and that is the state of affairs in education today.

To say that the educational context is authoritarian, however, is not to say that any particular person or group is to blame. The problem is much simpler than that. Education, like Topsy, just "growed." The fact that we have still more growing to do is both natural and understandable. However, education can probably improve only if it finds a way to use feedback data effectively and creatively. The idea of a separate group with power to accomplish the accountability function may be one way. One pressing need, therefore, is to think about trying to change the system. We must, if you please, alter the context. Perhaps we should consider the possibility of encouraging passage of a state law which would establish assessment councils or evaluation committees in each local school district. Such groups might be appointed by the superintendent with the approval of the board, but not responsible directly to either. That is, the legislation might provide such a group with two percent of the current operating budget, say, and the authority to pass judgment on the policies which governing boards made or the way in which such policies were implemented by the professional staff.

Such a proposition would undoubtedly be frightening to some persons, since it may appear to give one group excessive power. The fact is, that power is already there. Such a possibility as outlined here would simply distribute the existing power in different ways. Hopefully such a deliberate sharing of power according to function rather than consolidation of power among fewer persons would open the system up and make it more democratic and more responsive to nonviolent, rational, altruistic proposals for change.

No special thesis is being made for the proposal which has been outlined here. The point is, the system must be changed. It is too authoritarian now. It can be made more democratic if we will try.

Can We Select Democratic Persons Into the System? Changing the context so that it becomes more democratic is one problem. Selecting into that contextual framework professional participants who are democratic is another. And even if the system remains rigid and authoritarian, devising ways of encouraging democratic-type persons to enter the field and keeping or screening authoritarian-type persons out, too, is a very important possibility.

According to the rationale which has been outlined here, authoritarian persons will negate the attainment of educational objectives, by definition. They are not perceptive, skilled at communication, or independent, and they hold negative concepts of self and negative concepts of others. Such persons must be denied the opportunity to enter a classroom filled with girls and boys. They must be denied the opportunity to administer or supervise. Authoritarian persons are not capable of growth and adaptation and change. They are the antithesis of everything that education stands for and toward which it aims. Somehow the profession must assume direct responsibility for selecting persons into and screening persons out of the profession according to personality structure and values and perceptual style.

Such ideas as these are frightening, too. It is much easier to admit and retain personnel on the basis of grade point average or degrees earned, say, rather than on the basis of personality. But we all admit that no psychotic—even one with a straight "A" average—should be permitted to teach any child. Every profession screens prospective members on the basis of personality characteristics. Educators must do the same. We must stop assuming that "even a poor teacher is better than none at all," which is the kind of logic we employ when we talk about the "teacher shortage," for example. There is no room for authoritarian teachers in education, no matter what the teacher-pupil ratio becomes. We must work to find a way to be selective in the profession and keep authoritarians away from schools.

Can We Change the Authoritarians Now in the School? The logic of my argument is clear. Over the long haul we must devise ways of admitting people into the profession which will screen authoritarians out—but what about those authoritarians who are now in our schools? In the extreme cases, of course, these people must be moved out right away. Their interests and their needs are not paramount—it is the young people in schools whose learning needs come first. Those persons who tend in the direction of authoritarian behavior must be helped through supervision and assistance and in various ways to become more open to experience, more communicative, more independent, and to develop a more healthy and more positive concept of themselves and others. This must be done.

The ideas being outlined here might seem to suggest that "somebody is going to have to play God." That is not intended at all. Every truly professional group works at the business of raising the competence and knowledge and personality characteristics of the members of that group. Some groups are more effective at this task than others, of course, but the job must be done by the professional group as a whole. Not by administrators or "authorities" or experts but by the professional group working deliberately as a whole. That is a very difficult supervisory chore, but it must and can be done.

Can We Rethink Our Program? Curriculum and supervision are our concerns. Do some subject matter areas, do certain organizational schemes, do any methodological approaches which we use to teach boys and girls each day move youngsters in the direction of developing or acquiring authoritarian ways? For instance, does the "right answer philosophy" which characterizes so many of our tests in school teach students to be tolerant of ambiguity? Does the single textbook approach encourage perceptiveness and openness to all ideas or a narrow view of the subject matter world? Does criticism or sarcasm develop a positive concept of self or others? Does a rigid schedule teach youngsters to be open to experience, and does the neighborhood school in the ghetto foster positive feelings for self and others? How does insistence upon compliance with meaningless rules affect one's development of independence? Does marking a student "fail" make him more open or closed to future perceptions? These questions are all real.

The point is, we must know more precisely how such specifics as have been set forth here actually impact upon a growing youngster in school. Everything about the educational program must be subjected to empirical scrutiny in terms of what the school does to teach young people to grow up and behave in democratic or authoritarian ways.

Authoritarianism and rebellion go hand in hand. They always have and they always will. If we are seriously concerned about minimizing authoritarianism and eliminating rebellion, we have to understand the terms as they apply to the people and the situations which are involved. This paper has been one man's effort to grapple with the particular aspects of these various conceptions.

Social Realities and the Urban School

Mario D. Fantini   Gerald Weinstein

THIS paper has three main purposes: to clarify what is distinctly urban about urban schools; to discuss how schools presently deal with the distinctions; and lastly to suggest a way of making the distinctions more synonymous with a school's programming. Before beginning to deal with these issues, however, we would like to mention the catalysts that prompt such a paper.

We are living in a period of great social crisis—domestically and internationally—a crisis that becomes increasingly difficult to ignore. It used to be that most of us were able to tune out rather easily whenever we got too depressed over the social dilemmas of our time. We knew there was segregation in the South, that there were lynchings now and then, and we were angry enough to contribute a few dollars to the NAACP and then sit back and forget about it. When it was pointed out that the North was racist too, it was accepted intellectually with an understanding nod, but we all knew that deep down it was the average white Southerner who was the real bigot. Those times of sloughing off the problem or faulting others for it seem to have gone forever. There are fewer and fewer places to hide as the blacks become more militant and demanding and above all *violent*. Never before has it been so vehemently expressed to the white professional that he is incompetent because so many black children are failing in school and that he should

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give up his authority. When in our past history has the white citizenry been told by so many that it is going to burn if it does not shape up?

What all this means is that we, the establishment, are becoming frightened. There is a persistent, gnawing fear of our power being gradually eroded and our competence undermined, because basically it is being continually brought to our attention that our ways of going about things do not seem to work in the urban school or, more recently, even in the suburban school. Somehow we are losing control over the situation. In a way, it seems to us that fear—perhaps with a good portion of helplessness mixed in—is a major catalyst for asking that we consider the issues and problems of the urban school. It is our hope that some of these raw, insistent feelings will allow us to face as directly as possible the dilemmas and somehow to create constructive rather than defensive responses.

If the problems of urban areas and urban schools are frightening to us, they are also mandating us to re-evaluate objectives, methodology, content, and virtually everything we know (or thought we knew) about education in general. Moreover, we are beginning to see that what is happening in large urban areas is really a preview of coming attractions for a major portion of our country. The concentration of problems we now view in stark bas-relief in the urban schools is beginning to emerge, we feel, even in non-urban areas.

If this is so, what is it about the urban scene that is most pertinent to all of us and to education in general?

What Is Urban About an Urban School?

If we were to choose the one characteristic of an urban context that has priority for schools it would be stated as follows: *The urban context is one in which there is persistent stress imposed by intensely concentrated social realities.* Although all schools operate in a context of social realities, those that are in smaller, more homogeneous communities have much less tension since the schools reflect a reality that is more parallel to that of the surrounding community. In addition, in those communities there is not the intense concentration of so many varied realities—so many different slices of life. The urban school, located in an area of great density and diversity, finds itself at a convergence point of a whole array of realities.

While most schools have devotedly divorced themselves from direct confrontations with social reality, the urban school stands out as most absurd in its efforts to emulate the way reality is reflected in suburban schools. But, before we go into what the school is or is not doing, we need to take a hard look at the urban social realities and the stress they impose.

Density and Loss of Identity

To what extent do the urban realities contribute to the identity crisis of the city dweller? "Do I really count?"; "Do I have any importance?"; "Am I being lost in the massive shuffle of big city life?" are often the unverbalized questions of the city dwellers—all of which may be condensed into: "How does the city affect my perceptions of myself?"

Everyone knows that cities are crowded; that space is at a premium; that it is difficult to get away from crowds of hustling, bustling people. Everywhere there are lines of people waiting. Subway trains provide for some of the most physically intimate rides obtainable anywhere. But what is the persistent stress on the individual confronted with great numbers of people? We would contend that there is greater depersonalization, less empathy, greater feelings of loneliness, anonymity, and a general hardening or mechanization of relationships with people.

Varied comments of urban dwellers reflect this description:

> I don't feel sorry for nobody. When you been around this town as long as I've been and ya seen all the nuts and kooks it just runs off your back like water.
>
> How can I possibly count as anything important when I've never felt more lonely in my life than when I moved to the city. Everyone seems to be in such a hurry to get to his own hidden little world. Strange to feel so lonely when there are so many people around.

People living in extremely close physical contact with one another and highly dependent, yet remaining isolated in general from one another—a sea of unknown faces—is just one of the paradoxes of the urban social reality of size and density. Impersonal relationships are numerous here and the brief casual contacts between persons allow in most instances for the communication of only superficial information. Yet, on the basis of this limited information, people evaluate and rank others. Standardized, superficial criteria for stratifying people thus evolve according to address, speech, manners, skin color, dress, etc. There are too many people to absorb as individuals; therefore, a categorical depersonalized shorthand becomes reinforced.

Within the urban school itself, depersonalization is dramatically evident. Class size has rarely been pared down in spite of "average" numbers issued in the board of education reports. Having *every* child study the same thing at the same time for the same length of time is the rule. Teachers rarely live in the same community in which they teach and so parents and teachers are strangers. Because of the great numbers of children, cumulative records and reports in effect become the "children" about whom standardized decisions are made. Personalizing education would mean fouling up the machinery of the organization, and by all means the machinery must come before the individual. Which brings us to our next major social reality of the urban area.

Bureaucratization and Powerlessness

To what extent does a city contribute to the sense of power in its citizenry? (By power we mean the feeling that we have some control or influence over what happens to us.)

In spite of Mayor Lindsay's pronouncement that New York City shall be known as Fun City, living there is like being a member of "Strike-of-the-Month Club." In the last three years we have had subway, newspaper, hospital worker, teacher, garage, taxi cab, and most recently garbage strikes. Many of these caused considerable inconvenience to the urban residents. What struck us, the authors, however, was the degree of nonchalance with which the citizens endured these events with an "Oh well, it will be over soon" attitude. It is almost as if we were being reminded that this was the price one has to pay for living in Fun City—or for that matter in any large city.

James Reston, in an editorial in the *New York Times*, was astounded at the complacent and passive reaction of the New York citizenry. "The force (the bureaucracy) is so powerful," he writes, "that they are beyond reason or persuasion or control. Power will tell in the end, they seem to be saying, and the people are merely spectators and victims in the struggle." [1] "You can't fight city hall" is the dominant theme. The bigger the city, the less feeling of control, so why bother? Anyone who has gone through the experience of trying to get help on a problem from a large city agency and being passed from one official to another has an emotional sense of the castrating effect of such an experience. The public is regarded by frustrated bureaucratic clerks as an imposition, an obstacle, a digression from their work—which is, ironically, to serve the public.

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[1] "New York: The City That Quit," editorial by James Reston, *The New York Times*, Friday, October 22, 1965.

And so it happens with the urban school:

Scene: An urban elementary school outside the main office.

Time: First day of school, registration.

Characters: School secretary and about 20 mothers and their children.

Props: None; no chairs, nothing, just a wall and a floor.

Secretary: (Shouting) Will you ladies line up against that wall please—we'll be with you as soon as we can! (Disappears into office. One hour passes. Children are restless and noisy. Mothers are reprimanding the children.)

Secretary: (Shouting) Will you please keep those kids quiet! Can't you see how busy we are! (Disappears into office.)

Many people question public institutions as to who serves whom. The verdict rendered most often is that in reality the client is at the service of the institution. Thus "you can't fight city hall" has become "you can't fight the board of education." As cogs in gigantic machinery, administrators, teachers, children, and parents are rendered powerless in persistent ways.

The following statements help to sum up succinctly this powerlessness *vis à vis* bureaucracy and urban living: "For satisfaction and growth, people need to engage in active interchange with their environment; to use it, organize it, even destroy (it). . . . his physical surroundings (and institutions) [2] should be accessible and open-ended . . . ." [3] The present urban social reality is very far from this ideal.

Diversity and Disconnectedness

To what extent does the city create a context for connectedness between different people? Does it engender a sense of community in which its variety of people see each other as important and related to one another? Does it create a sense of belonging?

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[2] Parenthetical insertion made by the authors.

[3] Kevin Lynch. "The City as Environment." In: *Cities*. (A Scientific American Book.) New York: Knopf-Random House, 1966. p. 194.

Of all the social realities faced by the urban dwellers and especially the urban school, the tremendous diversity of people looms as the most crucial distinction. Because so many different kinds of people, attitudes, perceptions, values, and habits are concentrated in a limited geographical area, this may be cited as one of the most unique aspects of an urban environment.

It is one thing, however, to know that diversity is a fact of urban life, but it is quite another to realize how diversity is viewed by the urban resident. To a few, diversity provides an exciting possibility for enrichment and expansion of one's own perceptions and experiences through a kind of cross-fertilizing interaction between different groups of people. These are the few who thrive on variety and find it nourishing. Yet we think that this attitude is not very prevalent in the city. More often diversity is viewed as threatening and at best novel or interesting, but certainly not anything one would consciously seek to develop. It is in the city, typically, that the great potential for cross-fertilization lies, and yet the distinct ethnic and racial turfs are entered by others only when absolutely necessary. It seems as if the only meeting ground between these diverse groups is in the restaurant—but then only recipes and foods cross-fertilize, not the people. Physical and psychological boundaries that keep people disconnected and alienated from one another are as well maintained as the Berlin Wall.

The urban school, meanwhile, has always considered itself the great homogenizer. It has taken great masses of diverse people and acculturated them to the middle-class mainstream. Whether or not specifically articulated as such, this is what the mission of the school was and is. Only *now* something seems to be going wrong. The acculturation mission is having tremendous bumps and wobbles. Many of the processes established by the school are intended to stamp out diversity, both cultural and individual, so that the urban school actually alienates diverse pupils and keeps them disconnected from the school.

If we now go back to our initial characterization of the urban milieu—which was stated as "the persistent stress imposed by intensely concentrated social realities"—we can summarize in this way: density and size, bureaucracy, and diversity are social realities which persistently lay stress on an individual's concern for identity, power, and connectedness. Certainly there are other ways to select and categorize social realities; however, we think this way will serve well enough our present purposes.

The stresses we have been discussing also imply that a city person has less opportunity to ignore social realities. He is exposed to them whether he wants to be or not. He is close to crime, riots, poverty, muggings, alcoholics—they are constantly making themselves felt; he cannot remain totally impervious to them. And so it is with children in the urban school. There are things going on in the real world which are part of an urban child's experience that the urban school has attempted to shy away from. Thus there is dichotomy and tension between the child's urban curriculum and the school's more antiseptic curriculum—a dichotomy which usually leads the urban child to label the school's curriculum as "phony."

We have been saving a final descriptive characterization for last in order to emphasize it. What we have been discussing up to now are some of the effects of urbanization on the so-called "average" resident—who could very well be middle-class and white. Depersonalization, anonymity, isolation, powerlessness, can be and *are* felt by people whose bellies are relatively full, who have steady incomes, and who have not been discriminated against by society. Now, however, it is becoming more evident that increasingly the "average" city dweller is more likely to be poor and discriminated against. Public schools in large cities are basically the habitat of the socioeconomically disadvantaged and will become more so. Therefore if the characteristics of urban stress are felt by those who are relatively well-off, we must magnify those stresses, perhaps double or triple them, when applying them to the disadvantaged resident. We must also magnify those stresses when applying them to the urban public school itself. The urban school thus finds itself in the center of a situation where the black citizens' demands for power, identity, and connectedness are hammering on its doors with ever-increasing insistence.

Getting Social Realities into the School

Thus far we have sketched certain social realities that surround urban schools and the psychosocial concerns so closely related to these realities. The question now becomes: What role should the urban school assume *vis à vis* the social realities and concerns? That the urban school should play a role has already been assumed, for if the urban school (or any school, for that matter) declares no role, then it would admit to dealing with *social unreality*—a pedagogically unjustifiable position. Or the school must make the case that the content and process of the standard school already deal with social realities—a case which would be spotty at best.

Operational Constraints on Social Realities

In order for the urban school to deal with these social realities in an authentic, direct way, certain *operational* (actual) pedagogical realities must be identified and analyzed to determine their influence on the urban school's capacity for dealing with social reality.

Let us begin with the operational definition of *quality education*, that is, the day-to-day yardstick used for assessing a good school by the interested parties involved with public education—parents, communities, teachers, administration, school boards, state departments of education, teachers organizations, etc. Stated simply, the operational definition is "grade level or above performance in basic skills and academic achievement, as measured by standardized tests" (e.g., Iowa Basic Skills, Regents Exams). For example, ghetto parents want their children to be reading at grade level, not two or three years behind; suburban economically advantaged parents want their children to be two or three years above grade level in reading, etc. Grade level achievement takes on increased importance to the interested parties also because college entry is dependent on adequate achievement in these same academic skill areas. Consequently the mission of the school has been forged and a structure (e.g., bureaucracy, graded system), and a process from early childhood has been formulated to meet the mission.

This consensus on what "quality education" is, on what schools are for, can be challenged or disturbed only at the risk of persistent retaliation by the interested publics. We are all familiar with the term "frill" which is attached to any attempt to introduce into the standard educational process any "alien" content—even if it be content that deals with such fundamental issues as alienation, identity, power, connectedness, talent, career, or the like. Consequently social reality of the types depicted earlier cannot be introduced into the present urban school without bumping directly into the operational definition of quality education. Such social realities of necessity must be made *relevant* to this operational definition if their entry into the institution is to be initiated. The onus of responsibility is therefore on those who seek more social reality in the school; it is their task to justify its relationship to "quality education."

For some seeking to deal with the social reality of cultural identity for black people, the introduction of Swahili into the school may be attempted, only to find the verdict that Swahili is irrelevant to the present definition of quality education. Yet Swahili has been included as an "elective" in certain urban schools, thereby giving us an idea that the school may consider "adding" or building in appendages for certain social realities. But the bulk of the content of social reality stands apart, waiting to be legitimized by the urban school and hitting head on with the institutional constraints that restrict fundamental tampering with the traditional content. "Covering" the year's worth of current academic content remains the gatekeeper of the present system and is to all intents and purposes the primary objective of urban education.

To pursue the pervasive effects on the institution of the operational definition of "quality education," let us analyze its effect on the professional. For example, the teacher, the institutional agent closest to the learner, is imprisoned by this definition. On the one hand the urban teacher admits that the children are not responding to the standard education content and approaches, and admits that new content and testing strategies are desperately needed. On the other hand, he is constrained by the accepted institutional norms regulating pedagogic behavior ("don't be a rebel," "play the game") and by a form of organization which isolates him from his colleagues. The result is that teachers and administrators develop mechanisms to cope with the "institutional realities." Teachers argue that, given the existing system, "quality education" could be purveyed by them if four conditions were met:

1. Smaller classes
2. Riddance of disruptive children
3. Materials that keep learners engaged
4. Freedom from routine administrative details and interruptions.

These demands by teachers are quite realistic, given the institutional setting in which they are asked to implement "quality" education; even though, thus far, where these conditions have been implemented, the results still are not encouraging.

The point is that an entire formal school process and organization (e.g., school design, staff utilization, teacher certifications) have been structured to deal with a traditional, and, to us, outdated definition of quality education. Despite the changes in assignment which society has given to the school in recent years (e.g., the growing demands that education be for everybody, that it serve diversity and the social roles that are needed in our society), the old ways prevail. Those in the educational institution charged with the responsibility for realizing quality education as well as those outside the system (each of whom is the product of the standard educational process) hold to the conventional wisdom—to the conventional definition of quality education. Therefore, it seems that the major road open for bringing social realities into existing urban schools would be to stress the relevance of social realities for improving basic skills and standard academic achievement. If this were done, however, social realities would become, at best, new means to old ends.

Social Realities as a Means to Traditional Objectives

Despite the fact that the use of social realities for improving standard academic achievement is really only a way of getting learners to old ends, let us examine how this might be done. Social realities can be legitimized in the institution and can foster traditional educational objectives in several ways.

The present social studies curriculum and curriculum in the other disciplines in urban elementary schools can be expanded to include units on varied social realities. Thus, the unit on the American Indians could include a section on the plight of modern Indians, enriched possibly by poignant samples of the songs of modern folk singers such as Buffy St. Marie; the unit on the American Negro could deal with the poverty of current ghetto existence; the unit on understanding other cultures could include at least the fact that three-fourths of the world is starving. Secondary urban schools might, perhaps, develop a new course entitled "Urban Social Realities," in which many of the problems identified earlier in this paper could be covered. Teacher training institutions could add a course for prospective teachers, called "Teaching Social Realities to Urban Youth." The creative teacher could augment any of these units or courses by readings in sociology on the urban milieu (including news clippings on the Riot Commission's recent report); by field trips to ghetto areas; by films on tenement living or the aftermath of summer riots; or by guest speakers who have worked with addicts, dropouts, etc.

The children exposed to these "new" areas would, we suspect, proceed to write about them and be marked for originality, grammar, punctuation, spelling, etc. These "new" experiences could become the basis for experience stories to increase interest in reading for minority children. Of course, some discussion on the implications of the social realities for human beings in general and for the learner himself may be expected to emerge. If these dialogues develop, however, the likelihood is great that the discussion will deal with diagnoses and sharpen descriptions of the social reality problem. If students begin to ask what they personally should *do* about the problem, such as forming a protest group and marching on the local political leader, the teacher would probably try to discourage such prescriptions (partly because of his own image and welfare, given the present "ground rules" of acceptable behavior governing the professional teacher in big city school systems).

Although we have been perhaps overly facetious in the preceding paragraphs about slipping in the social realities as means to traditional ends, let us state sincerely that: If social realities entered the school program even as a means only for making contact with the learner and for taking him toward the basic skills and academic objectives presently emphasized, the present school program would, we feel, be greatly enriched. Moreover, we must once underscore that we are not for one moment suggesting the abandonment of basic skills or academic mastery; on the contrary, we propose to argue their importance and continuation. Our concern is that they have become *all-important* and that all new content is legitimized mainly as a vehicle to be manipulated toward the academic objectives, thus attributing a second-class status to such content as social reality. We propose to argue later that basic skills and academic mastery could be dealt with more efficiently if the urban school were organized differently. We also propose to offer a different interpretation for defining what is relevant to both the needs of the learner and society in urban schools.

Our fear is that if social realities were used exclusively as a basic pedagogic strategy for getting learners to perform better in traditional skill areas this would do a basic injustice to both the social realities and the skill areas. Our hunch is that the learner would sense a "phoniness" about this strategy, thereby, diluting the potential learning inherent in a curriculum of social reality. For example, if the black student senses that the inclusion of "black power" in the social studies program is really being used to lead him toward other "irrelevant" academic mastery, he may retreat from involvement with both areas.

What we see then as the most beneficial way of introducing social realities into the school is to stress social realities as content in their own right that has intrinsic value because it is integrally related to the learner, to his personal concerns, and to the needs of an open self-renewing society.

Social Realities and New Educational Objectives

Therefore what we are suggesting is that social realities can become important content for *making contact* with and maintaining the sustained involvement of diverse urban student populations. The very nature of social realities can, at least, engage the learner temporarily either because of the deviation perceived by students from the rather antiseptic curriculum of present-day schooling or because social realities contain the seeds of an intrinsic relevance to the learners' basic concerns. This phase we label "making contact."

The tricky part comes with what happens after contact. If we go from contact mainly toward the traditional academic areas, we have been suggesting that the contact will not last and that kids will not play the game because the traditional academic content is irrelevant to many. This does *not* mean that social reality has no role in increasing academic performance. We simply are making the point that *to overload* social realities for this purpose would be a less viable strategy than to explore new learning objectives—objectives that would, ironically, coincide with what educators and political statesmen have been proclaiming for centuries to be legitimate responsibilities of public schools as major social institutions. Those responsibilities, or, as they are often called, "broad aims" of education, are to foster in all learners those behaviors that lead to genuine concern for and act upon creating environments that favorably affect the development of individual human potential. The new specific objectives should lead to the more humanistically oriented goals of an open society. In short, the school should develop in each learner behavior more consonant with participatory democracy.

This is a tall order and quite a leap for the urban schools to take at this time for several very real reasons. First, as we have indicated, the dominance of academic mastery objectives limits sharply the achievement of other types of objectives, especially when children in urban schools are performing so poorly in these very basic areas. Second, the school organization is not geared to serve other objectives adequately. Third, and perhaps most important, if social realities are introduced as a means for developing the learners who practice participatory democracy, the consequences of this participation could be quite controversial. Regarding this third point, one needs only to mention the reactions to the recent organized student protests and marches in various urban schools (often with demands for including Swahili in areas of Negro history). To utilize social realities, then, as a means for achieving new educational objectives aimed at helping an individual *act upon* the social realities, must be thought through quite carefully. If we do not approach this area systematically, the consequences may jeopardize not only the inclusion of social realities in the educational process but may also result in heightened frustrations of the learners themselves and of the other parties who make up public education.

Perhaps, in order to approach this systematically, we must take into consideration the various levels to which social reality objectives should be aimed. Assuming that people want new objectives that are more intrinsically related to social realities, there are a number of levels in which even these can be approached.

The new objectives might be directed first only at establishing *contact* with the learners and making them more aware of the social realities. Assuming that contact is made with the learners, however, the next question is: After contact, what? What would be the next phase or level of approaching the new objectives?

The second level appears to be *awareness* in more personal terms. That is, objectives could be developed that would help the learner to begin to understand not only the nature and implication of the social realities discussed and analyzed, but also to see that *he* is a part of the very social reality being assessed. For example, the learner exposed to the higher disease rate for ghetto dwellers may not only understand this as a fact but may begin to link the implication to his own welfare or to that of his friends, family, community, or nation. If the linkage to his own intrinsic concern is made, the result may be increased anxiety or fear that is either suppressed or overt. The questions now become: What does the school offer the learner at this point? What tools would the school have ready for the learner to deal with his own anger? Does the present orientation of the teacher, counselor, school psychologist, or administrator provide for the proper handling of such hostility?

Ironically many urban learners are being taught by other teachers in the hidden curriculum which exists outside the school, such as community leaders who can articulate the plight of the poor, of the black people, of minorities who are being victimized by an apathetic white society. The learners' frustration, anger, hostility at the realization that they have been victims of a negative environment, trigger emotional energies which are not being dealt with constructively either outside or inside the urban school.

Once social realities become linked to the learner's own existence (e.g., feelings such as "My chances of getting a good paying job in a white racist society are limited," or "When I'm out of my neighborhood I feel like a fish out of water"), awareness takes on a different character. When, further, the learner becomes aware that most slums can be eliminated if certain priorities are established by the city, state, or nation, then the awareness becomes connected to questions about who should be doing what about it?

The learner may then take the step from exposure to the social realities of, say, slum life to the broader conceptual generalization that environments shape growth and development for each person either negatively or positively. In other words, if you as an individual are in what can be assessed to be a negative environment then that same environment is thwarting your human potential and life chance.

Once at this stage we suggest that the learner may take a step further. He may begin to think: My options, given my understanding of the conceptual generalization, are to:

1. Learn to *cope* with or *adjust* to the negative environment (e.g., ghetto)
2. Learn how to get out into a positive environment
3. Learn how to fight blindly in the negative environment
4. Learn the strategies and systems for reconstructing the negative environment.

When the learner reaches this stage, he is beyond simple awareness and is thinking about actual options or alternatives for action.

At this point even though the learner has used social realities as a tool for serious thought and feeling and for considering alternative actions, no *direct action* need follow. For example, even though the learner may be aware that his chances of "making it" with big money are limited, he may not be motivated to the point of taking action, or he may lack the know-how for taking such action.

We believe that both cognitive (i.e., intellectual understanding of) and affective (i.e., an emotional bond, linking the social realities to his own intrinsic concerns) attachments are necessary in order to move the learner closer to the level of direct action and participation and to begin to deal with deeper questions of identity and connectedness.

However, a third level is also necessary—*role behavior,* or the *performing, doing, acting* level. Thinking and, later, feeling behavior has characterized the earlier stages of awareness, but it is not enough to think about the social realities problems—at some point personal action follows thought. A learner can think (and probably feel strongly) about the negative environment that has been affecting his life for years, but until he acts as an agent to reconstruct the environment, the cycle to true participatory democracy will not have been completed. This stage requires *clinical* opportunities for learners to behave in adult *role* situations. The role of participant will develop when the learner is placed in reality contexts in which he can actively and directly perform his role. This may run the range from the simple writing of letters to political leaders, to marching on city hall, to working in preschool centers, to involvement in community action projects, or in domestic or international Peace Corps programs. Thus a new set of objectives related to social realities must be formulated to help the learner deal with this action level.

If the school intends to consider objectives other than academic mastery, rather profound changes in schooling need to be made. Objectives related to social participation and personal development cannot be left to chance. The consequences for the individual, the public school, and society are too great. Moreover, it must be remembered that it is not a matter of substituting social realities for academic skills, but rather of creating a setting in which all these objectives can be realized.

Before we suggest an actual model for an urban school that is organized to deal with these new sets of educational objectives, we need to emphasize that a set of objectives related to individual identity problems must be developed. During our exposition of participation we touched on the related problem confronting all urban youth—the social reality of *self*. The urban learner joins all others in asking the fundamental question—"Who am I?"

Thus, while participatory democracy—the social reconstruction role helps create feelings of individual and group potency—is needed, the process does not automatically deal with the inner reconstruction of the individual. Objectives must also be devised that focus on the inner world of the learner, on new ways for him to negotiate with himself and his basic sense of connectedness or disconnectedness with others.

Programs dealing with inner reconstruction are now being developed in such places as Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California, which includes such content areas as "Inner Imagery," "Emotional Expression," "Encounter Groups," and "Sensory Training."

A Model of an Urban School

After all of this description of urban realities and analysis of their effects, what kind of prescription for the urban school is possible? According to the diagnosis given thus far, we shall offer a suggestion for a beginning model of an urban school that is directly connected with the issues we have raised. Therefore, corresponding to the limits we have given ourselves, the model would have to meet the following criteria:

1. Social reality and the school's curriculum have to be intrinsically connected.

a. The school must acknowledge the realities by setting up a structure in which children are engaged in the examination of these realities.

b. Children will learn the skills and behaviors needed to influence social realities.

c. The skills and behaviors for social change will be applied by the children to the social realities.

2. Power, identity, and connectedness have to become a legitimized basis for curriculum development, with the aim of expanding the repertoire of responses children have in dealing with these concerns.

3. Diversity, both cultural and individual, and its potential for cross-fertilization has to be encouraged and expanded through educational objectives and organization that allow and legitimize such an aim.

4. The school and the community it serves have to exist less as separate entities and instead develop responsibilities and lines of authority that are more integrated and shared.

Our construction of the model will have four major directions: (a) to consider an expansion and change in form of educational objectives; (b) to chart what a school that follows through on these objectives would look like organizationally; (c) to determine how and what kinds of supportive personnel might be utilized; and (d) to examine the relationship the school might have with the urban community it serves.

The Objectives

For a starter we can begin with three kinds of objectives, only one set of which is presently legitimized in the schools.

"A" OBJECTIVES

The legitimate ones ("A" objectives), as we have indicated repeatedly, are those that are geared to the attainment of academic skills and subject matter content. These are the objectives that rule the educational roost (in spite of the fact that they have not succeeded in achieving many of our broader educational aims). These are the objectives that practically all educational "innovations" are tuned into. When these are the sole objectives of education, all descriptions and diagnoses of any group of people or any area (e.g., urban) become very difficult since they must be squeezed into subject matter goals. If we discuss power, identity, diversity, connectedness, and all of the other issues we have discussed, it becomes quite a challenge to try to fit those issues into teaching tasks that have as their aims:

1. Getting children to read, to compute, to outline
2. To know the causes of the Civil War
3. To become familiar with the geography of Latin America
4. To know the parts of speech
5. Or to know the material that constitutes the earth's crust.

We certainly do not intend to deny the value of such tool skills and knowledge, but we find it difficult to relate sociopsychological descriptions to such objectives. In fact, we think it is a major reason why so many urban teachers become annoyed with consultants and with special resource people who feed them descriptions and analyses of their pupils. For they, the teachers, are constantly being put in the position of implementing a description when none of their teaching tasks has any intrinsic relation to those descriptions. While still acknowledging the importance of skills and subject achievement objectives as a portion of the school's responsibility, we would like to suggest two more sets of objectives.

"B" OBJECTIVES

1. To have the children acquire the skills of negotiating with adults

2. To have the children devise a variety of strategies for getting something they want

3. To have the children learn to identify the real power sources in their community

4. To have the children develop the skills for organizing people in order to create some change in their immediate social realities

5. To have children learn to use all forms of media in order to gain support for some social action they intend to take

6. To have the children develop general skills for constructive social action such as[4]:

   a. The ability to define clearly the objectives of social action

   b. The ability to evaluate the existing situation, to identify obstacles to the goal, and to identify the available resources for overcoming these obstacles

   c. The ability to analyze and to generate alternative measures for action, and to predict the various outcomes of each alternative

   d. The ability to select the most valuable of these alternatives and to test them through action

   e. The ability to evaluate the tested procedure and to revise strategies, thus beginning the cycle again.[5]

If curriculum were developed with these objectives as their focus, we would begin to see a more intrinsic linkage between a teaching task and descriptions of powerlessness.

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[4] These are basically problem-solving and scientific method skills, but here they are applied directly to social action.

[5] Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein. *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968. p. 436.

"C" OBJECTIVES

1. Become aware of how where they live and whom they live with influence how they perceive themselves

2. Learn how society's definitions of groups of people affect the way they judge themselves

3. Analyze the criteria they are using for self-judgment in terms of its objective base

4. Become more capable of predicting their own behavior

5. Expand their repertoire of responses to situations

6. See themselves as more differentiated sub-selves

7. Discover strengths, talents, and interests within themselves of which they may not now be aware.

Although these objectives are crudely stated, we hope that one can begin to see their relationship with the descriptions of the urban dweller's concern for identity. When one thinks of all the energy that has gone into the curriculum reform movement without even considering a curriculum that might achieve the objectives listed here, one begins to wonder if we are really serious about dealing with the basic concerns of our society.

School Organization Encompassing "A" "B" "C" Objectives, The Three-Tiered School [6]

In visualizing a school that facilitates the attainment of these objectives, picture a school that has the following three distinctive areas of responsibility (a three-tiered school):

I. Skills and knowledge
II. Personal talent and interest
III. Social action and explorations of self and others.

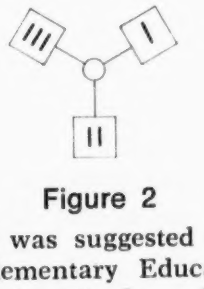

Figure 2

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[6] The three-tiered model was suggested to us by Bruce Joyce in the publication "Restructuring Elementary Education: A Multiple Learnings Systems Approach," New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966. p. 4.

Tier I is comprised of objectives related to basic skills, learning to learn skills,[7] information, and the major concepts of specific disciplines that are most needed as essential building blocks for the cognitive development of the child. Tier I thus includes reading, computation, writing, and speaking skills and the basic information and ideas contained in the social studies, sciences, and other disciplines. We would also include here ideas from psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science, and would substitute these ideas and concepts for much of what is taught currently in social studies, English, and science.

It is Tier I that serves as the information and skills retrieval base. It is the most highly automated, individually paced, self-instructional, materials-centered tier. Most of the current discussion on individualized and programmed instruction is directed to this tier. Although such undivided attention to Tier I is discouraging in many respects, it is also encouraging; for the more efficient Tier I becomes (either through IPI or other means), the more time there will be for work in Tiers II and III.

Tier II, while also highly individualized, has a different flavor. Whereas in the first tier content was fed to the child, in Tier II it is drawn forth from him in the form of whatever latent talents or abilities exist or may be discovered. It would be here that everything from learning to play a tuba, working on a research project of his own design, studying Swahili, or writing a play would occur. This tier allows for development of individual creativity and exploration of interests.

Tier III may be thought of as group inquiry into: (a) the issues and problems of social action that are personally related to the students and (b) exploration of self and others. Inherent in this tier are programs for developing the kinds of sample objectives noted earlier (i.e., "B" or "social objectives" and "C" or "personal development objectives"). A higher level of learning to learn skills—"self- and other-awaring skills"—would also be explored here. These are the skills required in recognizing and describing oneself and others multi-dimensionally, especially in terms of feeling states and concerns. Tier III, thus, would be mainly involved with power, identity, and connectedness education, and would allow for a greater emphasis on the affective aspects of education.

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[7] Learning to learn skills refers to those processes, ways of thinking, examining, or behaving that help the child become more adept at learning and that have been described by many educators as: critical thinking, analytic procedures, discussion procedures, rational processes, inquiry, evaluating, problem solving, hypothesizing, planning, predicting outcomes, generating alternatives, classification, analogy, comparison, inductive and deductive reasoning, etc. The point to be made here, however, is that we do not regard these process skills as an outcome or end product in themselves. Although such skills may be handled more or less in that rudimentary way in Tier I, it is in Tiers II and III that we hope they will be exercised to the fullest. For instance, many people believe that if a child can be instructed in critical thinking, that is all he needs. As important as critical thinking and other process skills are for the learner, we feel that they should be a means, an instrumentality, for helping children handle things that they are concerned about intrinsically. Thus, while introduced in Tier I, process skills will be utilized more meaningfully in Tiers II and III.

If one thinks of a school in terms of these three tiers or curricular modes, one can see that each tier is not completely isolated but instead overlaps somewhat with the others. For example, Tiers II and III would find it difficult to function completely effectively without occasionally dipping into the basic skills and information tier. Each of the three curricular modes has different strengths to offer and different weaknesses. Yet, blended together in proper proportions, they could achieve, we feel, a far greater and more balanced educational result than can any one of them taken alone.

It is interesting to note how an organization and objectives of this kind lessen one of the great problems of the urban school—grouping. In Tiers I and II, since there is greater emphasis on individualized instruction and much less reliance on group instruction in the academic areas, individuals are not saddled with labels that are punishing. The talent and interest areas of Tier II do not require that everyone be at the same academic levels in order to pursue a common interest. Tier III, in which group instruction does take place, allows for heterogeneous grouping since children are not competing for grade-level achievement norms. Here they are working on issues in which diverse backgrounds and experiences are *needed* to hit at problems from as many vantage points as possible. In other words, differences are required for providing the best cross-fertilization possible when dealing with social and personal concerns.

Probably the first reaction to the three-tiered model is: How would you possibly do all these things within a school day? We feel that this scheme can easily be achieved if one envisions an extended school day—with the school and numerous out-of-school instructional centers open at least 12 hours a day, six and even seven days a week. The basic organization and initiation of the studies would occur during the standard 9-3 schedule, but once the children are started on certain paths of study and discussion they do not have to be limited to the conventional school day. For example, as long as skills centers manned by trained skills counselors were established, students would be able to utilize these centers outside the classroom for their own development in Tier I. Likewise, talent and interest centers would also be established outside the school for Tier II development. Action projects and activities related particularly to the development of a sense of power and control over situations (Tier III) would similarly take place outside the school as well as inside. The following may help clarify some of this:

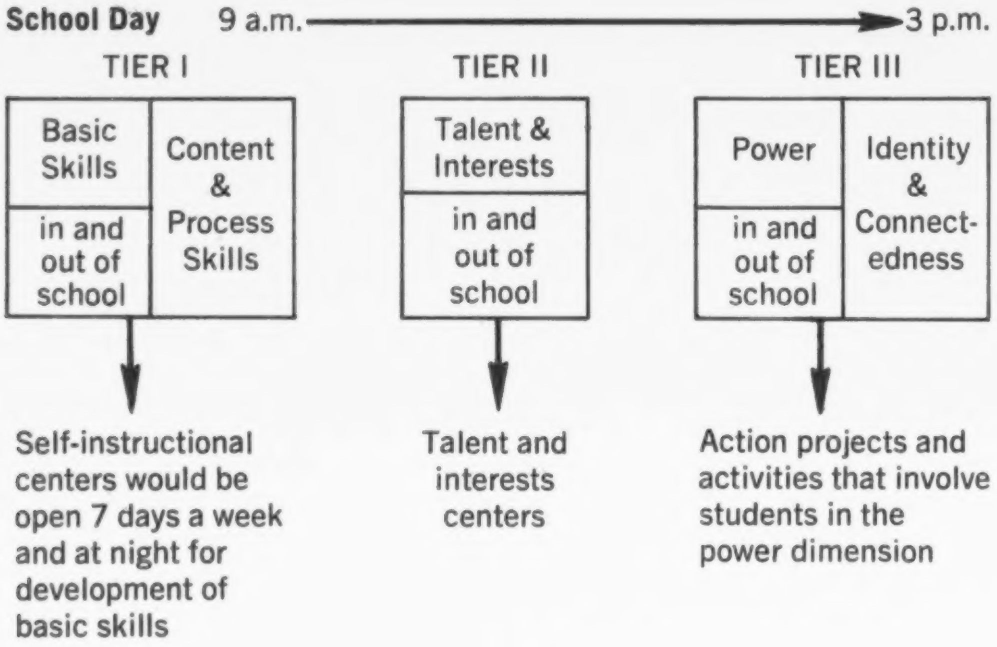
School Day
9 a.m.
3 p.m.
TIER I
TIER II
TIER III
Basic Skills
in and out of school
Content & Process Skills
Talent & Interests
in and out of school
Power
in and out of school
Identity & Connectedness
Self-instructional centers would be open 7 days a week and at night for development of basic skills
Talent and interests centers
Action projects and activities that involve students in the power dimension

Figure 3

The comment at this point may be that anything can be done —any educational innovation realized—if the school day were to be lengthened. This may be true. Yet even if the school day were not extended and instead Tier I were taught with IPI-like procedures and materials there would be more time available from 9-3 than there is in the present conventional scheduling—time that could be utilized for Tiers II and III. In addition, there already exists a movement that is gathering momentum to leave the schools open longer to allow for greater community and school involvement. Having children in the schools after 3 p.m. involved in aspects of the three tiers at the same time their parents are there, perhaps engaged themselves in self-instructional labs, would do much to strengthen the relationship between school and community.

Staffing

Usually we talk about wanting good teachers for our schools, but we rarely talk about good teachers for what? We expect a single teacher to be able to cover effectively all kinds of subjects and objectives whether he is comfortable with them or not.

In the three-tiered model, however, teachers would be assigned to tiers on the basis of their strengths and interests. In addition, people from the community would also be assigned to each of the tiers on the same basis. For example, Tier I would include technically-inclined and subject-oriented teachers, tutors, and parents. Tier II would include one-to-one and activities-oriented teachers and parents who show creativity and wide ranges of interests. Tier III would include more inductive, open-ended, child situation-oriented teachers and parents who would collaborate with the community on social action projects and identity training. A more explicit breakdown of the teacher (as well as parent and community member) types and the learning tasks they will be handling is seen below in the chart by Bernard H. McKenna. Although McKenna has not designed the chart in terms of staffing for a three-tiered school, it nevertheless fits nicely into the scheme (the delineations for the three tiers have been inserted by the authors into the original McKenna chart).

The involvement of parents, then, in Tier I would be primarily in terms of teacher aides who are trained to work with various skill areas. In Tier II, parents and community people who have special interests, talents, or hobbies would be tapped as talent developers, thereby expanding the reservoir of resource people into a greater pool than is normally available in a single school. In Tier III, community people (although not necessarily parents) could feasibly sit in with the children on social action seminars. If this kind of involvement of parents and community people were really achieved, there would be a much greater potential for a school to work out cooperatively with community groups its policies for more shared control and staffing.

Figure 4

A Teaching Proficiency Model by Categories of Learning Tasks[8]

Teacher Type and Proficiency	**Learning Task Category**
	Tier III
5. Facilitator of attitude and interpersonal behavior development: human relations attitudes and skills	Attaining a variety of human relations attitudes and behaviors, e.g., acceptance and appreciation of cultural differences, group process, group leadership roles
	Tier II
4. Developer of talents and aptitudes: a skill for developing talent	Developing a potential talent in a specialized area, e.g., proficiency in dealing with higher mathematical concepts, playing a musical instrument, writing plays
3. Identifier of talents: skill in promoting exploration in broad fields	Identifying interests and aptitudes appertaining to interests, e.g., exploratory experiences in industrial arts, stenography, music, creative writing, earth science
	Tier I
2. Liberal enlightener: skill as a master presenter	Enlightenment in areas in which knowledge of the general population is considered important but in which every individual is not required to be proficient, e.g., types of literature, geological structure, weaving rugs
1. Teacher technologist: skill in administering basic skills and knowledges	Mastering skills and knowledges considered essential for all, e.g., reading, historical facts of nations, computational skills.

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[8] Bernard H. McKenna. *School Staffing Patterns.* Pamphlet from the California Teachers Association, Burlingame, California.

Relationship of the School to the Community

Although this topic may seem peripheral to the explanation and development of a three-tiered school per se, one can scarcely talk of any type of school for an urban area without examining further its relationship to the community.

As previously implied, public schools in American society belong to the public. In large urban areas the highly bureaucratized school organization has become unresponsive to the needs and aspirations of the publics within its diverse communities. A new and more dynamic relationship needs to be cultivated between parents, community, and the urban schools. Schools need to be viewed as "open" institutions that serve *people* not just children.

One way to develop closer community participation in the urban school in addition to utilizing parents and community people as staff in the actual operation of each of the three tiers, is through a school-community council in which parents and community representatives would become the trustees of the school. Perhaps clusters of schools (e.g., the secondary school and its feeder schools) can be organized with representative governing boards to oversee the cluster. Such an arrangement would not only help connect urban communities to the schools that serve them, but would also increase the stake in developing relevant educational programs and give learners in those schools a sense of pride through identification. Moreover, the community would be given a sense of potency over a major institution that shapes their lives and the lives of their children.

The emergence of community (e.g., parents and youth) as new power sources focusing on the inadequacies of urban schools poses new challenges and opportunities for basic school reform. The problem will be one of *process*, i.e., of being able to harness the combined energies of professional reformers and community on the common objectives of institutional updating. It is well to keep in mind that the old way was for the professional to develop programs *for* the community or to do something *to* the community. The shift will be toward working *with* the community on programs developed *by* the community.

As seen in the "Bundy Report," which addresses itself to the present disconnection between the school and parents and students and which proposes a reconnection for learning through increased parent and community participation in local school policy, urban schools—three-tiered or otherwise—must establish new relationships with the community. It is the *combination*, however, of both the three-tiered model *and* increased community control that, to us, would seem to deal most directly and effectively with the social realities and needs of urban schools and their clientele.

In conclusion, a school program arranged in three-tiered fashion would be geared to meeting the common needs of all children without sacrificing individuality or cultural diversity. Moreover, it would foster the kind of meaningful mental framework that is conducive to the learning of academic subject matter and, because this learning would be personally meaningful to the pupils, the ability to transfer ideas and principles acquired in one context to another context would be engendered in the school's products. In other words, by dividing the school schedule into such segments as these three, rather than according to subject-matter learning per se, the educational process would be significantly more efficient in accomplishing its long-expressed aims. Indeed, only through such reorganization and reorientation can educators hope to meet America's need for the human resources which will revitalize and perpetuate the country as a healthy and self-renewing nation.

This time of national crisis is a time for new leadership, and a time when needed and effective changes in our social institutions have the best chances of being implemented and sustained. The crisis of the disadvantaged has provided educators with a unique and epoch-making opportunity for effecting true and penetrating reform; what will they do with this opportunity? Will they use it to perpetuate the unwieldy, ineffective, and deteriorating status quo? Will they adopt a policy of "wait and see," reacting only after the fact to societal demands? Or will they seize this opportunity to assume the roles of initiators, revising education to become the instrument of societal reconstruction and renewal, of individual and societal health, and of human progress?

This is the challenge of the urban school to education.

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